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ABSTRACT

The five-part document reviews the literature of job placement and the relationship between youth and employment--the barriers, services, and specific needs. The first part discusses in particular the importance of the work role, the preparation of youth for employment, and the methods used to secure work as these affect youth's entry into the labor market. In part 2, the placement needs of youth are examined in terms of unemployment, educational opportunities, career planning, and job seeking skills. Specific youth groups are discussed regarding the unique factors affecting youth's abilities to enter an occupational role. The groups are: women (in particular, the minorities), rural youth, dropouts, college bound, and noncollege bound students. Specific problems, possible educational pathways for job preparation, surveys of current vocational guidance programs, and recommendations for vocational guidance are discussed for each group. In part 3, components of the guidance system through a literature survey of educational and guidance services are presented. In part 4, the family, school, and government as providers of placement services are reviewed. In part 5, the exemplary models of placement services are presented. A summary of the current status of career guidance of youth and a bibliography are included. (Author/JB)

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REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS OF JOB PLACEMENT LITERATURE

VOLUME I OF A RESEARCH PROJECT TO DEVELOP A COORDINATED COMPREHENSIVE PLACEMENT SYSTEM

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PREFACE

This review and synthesis of the literature concerned with job placement has been prepared as the first step in formulating a model for a coordinated, comprehensive system of placement for high school through adult age persons. The literature search represents Phase I of the project to develop a placement model. This along with the second phase, a report of the findings of a survey of "users" and "providers," will form the building blocks for development of the placement system model.

The review phase attempts to report on the field of placement as well as related material on counseling, career development and training. It provides a review of the historical development of placement related activities and services as well as a description of current placement practices and functions of agencies, government, educational institutions and personnel within these units. The review although lengthy is divided into numerous subdivisions, reflecting particular issues, problems, activities, and the like which will be of interest to a variety of readers.

Roger Lambert
Associate Director
Center for Studies in Vocational
and Technical Education

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The advice and counsel of those persons who have served as members of the project Advisory Committee and Jury of Experts have been very helpful.

More specifically and directly related to the report itself is the efforts put forth by the project staff which is greatly appreciated. Those writers including Susan J. Kosmo, Eugene S. Nelson, and Wayne A. Hammerstrom can be proud of a job well done. The search was extensive and thorough.

The last and always present person on the staff who brings all the pieces together is our secretary Susan B. Haugen. We all thank her very much for making our efforts look great in print.

And, finally, we all wish to thank the agencies and institutions who made this study possible for giving us the opportunity to present the following report.

Richard D. Boss
Principal Investigator

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PART I INTRODUCTION

This literature search is presented in five parts. The first part discusses the general characteristics of youth as these affect youth's entry into the labor market. Particular attention is given to the importance of the work role in American society, the preparation of youth for employment, and the methods used by youth to secure work.

The second, third, and fourth sections elaborate the first section. Specific youth groups are discussed in Section II in terms of the unique factors which affect their ability to embark on an occupational role. The groups considered are: women, the disadvantaged (with particular attention to those in minority groups), rural youth, dropouts, non-college bound students, and college bound students. The relationship of these student characteristics to the job and educational opportunities they pursue will be discussed. Parts III and IV will discuss factors outside the student which exert influence on his or her eventual career role.

The following model summarizes the assumption underlying the research reviewed in Parts II, III, and IV.

$$\boxed{\text{Career placement}} = f\left(\begin{array}{l}\text{Job and}\\ \text{educational}\\ \text{opportunities}\\ \text{available}\end{array}\right)\left(\begin{array}{l}\text{Educational}\\ \text{background}\end{array}\right)\left(\begin{array}{l}\text{Guidance}\\ \text{services}\\ \text{received}\end{array}\right)$$

In this model, the career placement of a youth is viewed as being determined by the job and educational opportunities available to him or her. The student's socioeconomic status, sex, and race, as well as the economic conditions in his home community all affect the availability of job and educational opportunities for an individual student, and hence, his or her career placement. A student's career placement is also related to the instructional content of his educational background. In some educational programs, e.g. vocational education, the student receives training in entry level occupational skills as opposed to the traditional general educational offerings. On the college level, the analogy may be made between an engineering program and a liberal arts program. Educational background, in this context, therefore is not merely evaluated as number of years in school, but rather includes the relevancy of the instructional content to occupational demands. The third factor involves the guidance services a student has received and includes those activities which help a student select and implement a career. Since the family, school, and government all exert influences on both the educational background a student possesses and the guidance services he receives, each will be discussed in Part IV.

This model, however, does not operate in a vacuum, but rather in the overall economic realm. Obviously, no occupational role can be assumed if jobs simply are not available. Since the 1930's, unemployment has taken its heaviest toll from the youngest workers, as is reflected in both the present unemployment rates and those during the Depression (Miller, 1964).

Part V of the literature search presents several contemporary models of school-based placement programs from which components of placement services may be generalized.

PART II YOUTH PLACEMENT

Placement Needs of Youth

Parameters of the Work World

The major contributer to an adult's identity in American society is occupational role. Besides the obvious effects of income, a person's occupation frequently relates to his friendships, his values, and his use of leisure time.

> When a man replies to the question 'What do you do?' we are enabled to place him at least approximately. We can broadly estimate the range of his income, the size of his family, where he lives, where he works, how he spends his leisure time, what clubs he belongs to. And from our estimates of these things we can make a judgment as to how we should behave toward him--whether we should accord him respect, tolerance, or contempt, whether we should seek his help or offer him help, whether we want him as a friend or not. Because place of origin and name have become unreliable as indexes of status, occupation becomes important to us. (Gross, 1964, p. 67)

> A man's occupation in American society is now his single most significant status-conferring role. (Venn, 1964, p. 11)

> Modern society increasingly denies opportunities for work during youth. . . . a job becomes the symbol of acceptance into the adult world. (Venn, 1964, p. 12)

> We may remind ourselves that though in some parts of the world the name a person carries may denote the family's geographic origins, our western and northern European ancestors began early to use family surnames that signified their accustomed occupations. In our culture, to know about someone, we still inquire first about his line of work. (Borow, 1974, p. 147)

And as observed by Terkel (1974) in introducing his book of interviews of employees in over 120 different occupations:

> It is about a search, too, for daily meaning as well as daily bread, for recognition as well as cash, for astonishment rather than torpor; in short, for a sort of life rather than a Monday through Friday sort of dying. Perhaps immortality, too, is part of the quest. To be remembered was the wish, spoken and unspoken of the heroes and heroines of this book. (p. xi)

Although a person's job may determine many of the economic and social aspects of his life, the differential suicide rate and divorce rates for various occupational groups attest to the impact of occupation on the psychological state. Life insurance companies even relate man's life expectancy to it.

In regard to the world of work, the complexities of it have multiplied the problems involved. The number of jobs destroyed and created by technology has caused the society to change from an agrarian one to an industrial state. Educational and occupational decisions are so vastly complex that a system of information pooling has evolved with regards to employment services, teachers, counselors, etc. However, occupations have multiplied at such an enormous rate that it has been difficult for parents, prospective employees, counselors, employers, etc. to be up-to-date on the existing job market (Venn, 1964). The myriad of occupations and work roles affect decisions, alternatives and future goals of youth. The effectiveness of satisfying these needs is a question of paramount importance.

In summary, the work a man or woman performs affects all aspects of his or her life, even its longevity. The following literature search will explore the relationship of youth to employment--the barriers they encounter, the services they receive, and the needs they present.

Youth and Unemployment

The unemployment rate among youth as compared to the adult unemployment rate has risen each year since 1960 (National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, 1972). During 1972 and 1973 the unemployment rate for all youths between the ages of 16 and 19 years was approximately 15 percent or three times that of the adult work force (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974). It can be expected that as unemployment rates continue to increase, the proportion of youth's contribution to total unemployment will rise further (Borow, 1974).

Educational Pathways Traveled By Youth

There are several "pathways" (Ginzberg, 1971) youth may travel in their approach to work. Several of these pathways focus on education beyond high school. Heinsohn's (1974) survey of high school seniors emphasizes the importance attached by youth to a college education as "the route to steady employment in prestigious occupations" (p. 37). Although the number of students aspiring to jobs requiring a college-degree well outnumbers the availability of such jobs (Borow, 1974; Heinsohn, 1974, Perrone & Lins, 1970) and the probability of successfully completing a college program is decidedly against many of these students, the four-year college remains one of the most popular pathways to work.

The popularity of this pathway can be documented by the data presented by Flanagan and his associates in conjunction with Project Talent, a nationwide survey of youth. In 1970, 61 percent of the eleventh grade boys surveyed and 55 percent of the eleventh grade girls reported that they expected to attend college (Flanagan & Jung, 1971). The expectation was further validated by the percentage of students reporting enrollment in the college preparatory program. The follow-up of those who were seniors in 1960 (Flanagan, Shaycroft, Richards & Claudy, 1971) revealed that within five years after high school, 58 out of every 100 boys and 43 of every 100 girls enrolled in college. However, when the percentage of high school seniors actually completing this pathway within five years after high school is computed, only 28 out of every 100 boys and 21 out of every 100 girls

completed college. Obviously a large proportion of the young people entering the labor force do so after completing some, but not all, of the requirements of a four-year college program.

There are other educational pathways into work including the private and public vocational schools. The number of students expecting to use these pathways has also increased over recent years, such that in 1970 only 15 percent of the girls and 14 percent of the boys questioned by the Project Talent staff indicated that they did not expect to get any training beyond high school (Flanagan & Jung, 1971).

In part these students plans for continued education reflect the growing relationship between educational attainment and occupational entry. As Venn (1964) has noted

> Technology has created a new relationship between man and his work. Although this relationship has traditionally held for some men and some work (on the professional level, for example), modern technology has advanced to the point where the relationship may now be said to exist for all men and for all work. (p. 1)

The high school diploma itself it an entry requirement not only for many jobs, but also for admittance to apprenticeships and many of the in-service training programs offered by various industries (Ginzberg, 1971).

Just as occupational possibilities are influenced by the educational level a youth has attained, so too are decisions to embark on an educational pathway influenced by a student's career goals. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the process of career planning in youth.

Career Planning

Borow (1974) has discussed the characteristics of the career planning of youth. Some of his observations and the supportive research of other investigators can be summarized as follows.

1. Vocational indecision is "widespread" among high school students with a great number changing career plans in a short while after leaving high school. Data from the Project Talent sample document this observation. Of those sampled in 1960, only 31 percent of the twelfth grade boys and 41 percent of the twelfth grade girls planned the same career one year after completing high school (Flanagan & Jung, 1971). And furthermore, five years after completing high school, "only about one student in five enters the occupation he chose in high school" (Flanagan et al., 1971, p. 14-5).

2. As noted previously, there is a large disparity between the number of students who aspire to high prestige jobs, those requiring college degrees, and the number of these jobs available in the labor market. In support, Perrone and Lins (1970) found that 78 percent of the males and 50 percent of the females hoped to have professional or executive careers--a numerical impossibility based on the current occupational structure in the United States (p. xi).

3. Students do not have a clear idea of the steps involved in educational or vocational planning, but seem only aware of the next step in the

plan. This observation is incompatible with the high career aspirations of youth as evidenced by the findings of Hart (1971). Planning and preparation played the largest role in the professional area while entry into semi-skilled occupations "generally involved unplanned change events." Further, since the type of business or industry a person selects for employment to some extent determines his future career options, it is interesting to note that in Singhell's (1966) follow-up of high school students, about 90 percent took the first job offered to them. Perrone and Lins (1970) examined the activities of high school graduates and have concluded: "There is much less similarity between senior plans and activity the year after graduation for those not planning to attend school. Those not planning to continue their education show little consistency between plans and activities. It would appear seniors either have an 'educational' plan or no firm plan when they graduate. The high incidence of movement between schools and between activity categories after the graduates have been out of high school for a year suggests that the 'educational' plan is simply a decision as to which school to enter." (p. x)

4. Substantial numbers of students take jobs unrelated to the training they have received. Kaufmann, Shaefer, Lewis, Stevens, and House (1967) assessed the training relatedness of the first full time jobs obtained by graduates from eleven vocational programs. Although 81 percent of those enrolled in the commercial and beauty culture areas were employed in related jobs, the figures for the other areas ranged from 61 percent for those in dressmaking to 12 percent for those in electricity. This holds true for college graduates; in his sample of June, 1972 graduates, Sargeant (1974) reported that only 62 percent were employed in unrelated jobs either by choice or because of inability to find related work.
This failure to work in an area related to training may be explained, in part, by lack of jobs. As Kaufmann and his associates (1967) observed in their survey of high school vocational offerings in four states: "There [was] little if any relationship between the proportions of enrollment in the various vocational programs and the occupational distributions in the communities" (p. 5-16). Furthermore, the student cannot be responsible for selecting a training program on the basis of the training opportunities it provides, for "a high percentage [of high school students] know very little about local labor market conditions" (Heneman & Dawis, 1967, p. 24). On the post-secondary level, however, there appears to be a better relationship between training and employment. The 1972-73 follow-up of Wisconsin vocational-technical students revealed that 67 percent of those available for the labor force were employed in an area related to their training (Lehrmann, 1973).

In summary, the career planning and preparation of youth can be characterized by its lack--lack of a clear and accessible goal, lack of knowledge of the steps in achieving vocational goals, and lack of coordination between training received and employment obtained.

Job Seeking Skills of Youth

Even with adequate career planning and preparation, the young person must still translate his occupational goal into the reality of a job. This step presupposes adequate job seeking skills. Young people search for

work in close proximity to their homes (Singhell, 1966) and rely heavily on job leads provided by their relatives and friends and upon direct application (Cook, 1968; Kaufman, et al., 1967; Singhell, 1966; and U.S. Department of Labor, 1973b). There are obvious influential factors, therefore, affecting the disadvantaged youth living in low socio economic neighborhoods. Not only will such a youth have fewer "connections" via relatives and friends in the labor market, but he will be competing "more heavily with older people for typical entry-level jobs" available in his neighborhood (Singhell, 1966, p. 24).

About 23 percent of high school students enrolled in vocational and technical programs received help from their schools in finding jobs (Kaufmann, et al., 1967); however for males, this assistance was noted to be a function of IQ with those with the lower IQ's receiving the least amount of assistance and those with higher IQ's receiving the most assistance with placement. Students enrolled in the college preparatory and general academic programs reported receiving even less assistance with job placement than the vocational enrollees.

Other sources of job leads, such as the Employment Service and Want Ads, are even less frequently used by young people entering the labor market (Cook, 1968; Kaufmann, et al., 1967; Singhell, 1966; U.S. Department of Labor, January, 1973). Yet as Sheppard and Belitsky (1966) have remarked, there is a relationship between the number of techniques used and the employment of younger workers. Although there are various reasons why these other techniques are not used, e.g. the fee charged by private employment agencies, the types of jobs available through the state employment agency, and some students inability to read want ads, there is the more basic problem of lacking information about these agencies. Singhell (1966) found that from 20 to 40 percent of the students in his survey did not know the location of the local state employment office. Edwards and Whitcraft (1974) found that the knowledge of other vocational service agencies, such as Vocational Rehabilitation and Job Corps, was even more limited among low income families.

From his interviews of high school graduates in five states, Kaufmann and his associates (1967) have aptly concluded:

> In general, the bridge between training and employment is an informal and unstructured one in which the individual's immediate environment is a major factor in determining where he will seek employment. A potential job market whose boundaries are determined by one's own knowledge of opportunities plus the awareness of family and friends is far from being an optimally efficient market in the sense of matching abilities and interests with tasks to be performed. (p. 6-23)

Minority Group Status as a Variable in Placement

The World of Work as Presented to Minority Group Members

Despite numerous government-sponsored job training programs and federal legislation prohibiting discrimination in the hiring of minority workers since 1942 there continues to be large discrepancies in the employment patterns of white and nonwhite workers (Ginzberg, 1968). Black youths are particularly vulnerable to rises in unemployment. In 1973, the unemployment rate among black teenagers was over 30 percent or almost 2½ times as high as the rate for white teenagers (U.S Department of Labor, 1974, p. 26). Not only are black youths more likely than their white counterparts to see greater unemployment among their peers, but they are also exposed to a different occupational outlook in terms of the work roles performed by black adults.

Figure 1 presents the 1973 labor force participation for white and nonwhite workers by sex for the United States. The minority group teenager sees proportionately less employment of black males, regardless of age, when compared to their white counterparts. On the other hand, the nonwhite teenager is more likely to be exposed to working mothers. These women are most likely employed in service jobs and substantially less frequently in clerical or operative jobs (Ginzberg & Heistand, 1967).

The occupational structure in which nonwhite teenagers are raised is also quite different than that of the general population. As the figures in Table 1 indicate, when the nonwhite youth examines the jobs held by other nonwhites, he will see a disproportionate representation of operatives, laborers, and service workers. He will see proportionately less members of his group employed as white collar workers and craftsmen than does the white teenager. In other words, from the labor patterns presented to nonwhite youths, the minority group youth can expect his chances to be approximately three out of five that, if he does find work, it will be as a laborer, operative, or service worker (see Table 1). Data from a study in Milwaukee (Howard, 1969) suggest that these odds may be even greater if this teenager resides in an urban area with a heavy manufacturing base. In Howard's study, eight out of every ten employed blacks worked as operatives, laborers, or service workers.

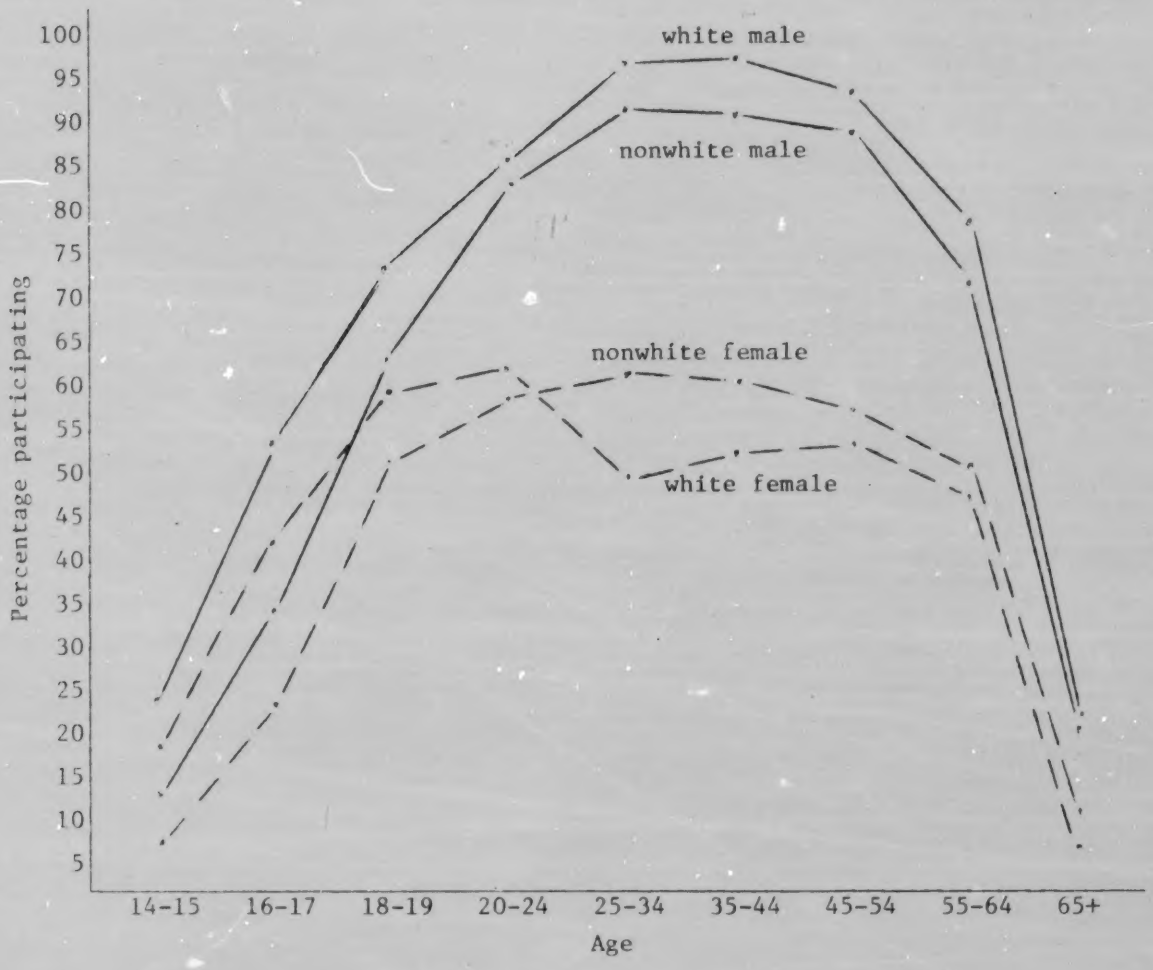
Ginzberg, (1968) summarized the results of a special census conducted by the Department of Labor in the late 1960's in nine urban areas. The findings indicate that one-third of all blacks "are unemployed, underemployed, cannot earn a living wage at their jobs, or are so discouraged that they have dropped out of the market completely" (p. 12).

The picture presented to black youths of upward occupational mobility is also considerably different than that presented to white youths. A study of black male and female workers in the mid-1960's revealed that they are "doubly handicapped;" they start at lower jobs and receive proportionately less advancements than their white counterparts. The findings for black males are particularly dramatic:

> 41% of black male workers compared with 57% of whites, had improved their occupational status between first and current

Figure 1

CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION FOR PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER BY COLOR, SEX, AND AGE: 1973



Source: Data from Manpower Report of the President (1974) Table A-4, pp. 257-258

Table 1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND COLOR, 1973

Occupational Group	Percent White	Percent Nonwhite
White collar total	49.9	31.1
Professional & technical	14.4	9.9
Managers & administrators	11.0	4.1
Sales workers	6.9	2.3
Clerical workers	17.5	14.9
Blue collar total	34.7	40.3
Craft and kindred workers	13.9	8.9
Operatives	16.3	22.2
Nonfarm laborers	4.6	9.7
Service workers total	11.7	25.3
Private household workers	1.1	5.7
Other service workers	10.6	19.6
Farmworkers total	3.7	2.8
Farmers & farm managers	2.1	0.7
Farm laborers & supervisors	1.6	2.1

Source: Manpower Report of the President, April 1974, p. 269, Table A-12

> jobs, while 22% of the blacks as opposed to 15% of the whites had experienced downward mobility.
>
> While the concentration of blacks in low wage jobs was 1½ times as great as that for white workers at the beginning of their respective careers, it was three times as great by the time [the workers were 45 to 59 years of age]. (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974, p. 123)

In summary, the position of the nonwhite worker in relation to the labor force can be characterized as follows:

1. Greater unemployment throughout life, but particularly severe during the teenage years.

2. Greater than average chances of being employed in unskilled and semi-skilled work.

3. Less chances of advancement.

It is not amazing, therefore, that importance is attached to increasing the work "models" to whom minority group youth are exposed (Gordon, 1968; Henderson, 1967). As Henderson has noted, "People tend to adjust their occupational goals to conform to their perceived environmental opportunities" (p. 8). Not only are models needed to broaden the occupational goals of disadvantaged minority youth, but also to transfer appropriate work behaviors. Gordon (1968) suggests that some disadvantaged youth may display ignorance of appropriate job behavior either because of a lack of a model or because the available model's behaviors do not appear to be rewarded. These youths may have seen "Models who too well played these roles, only to be rewarded with a life spent in dead-end and menial jobs, without respect, status, or hope" (p. 160).

Pathways Into Work

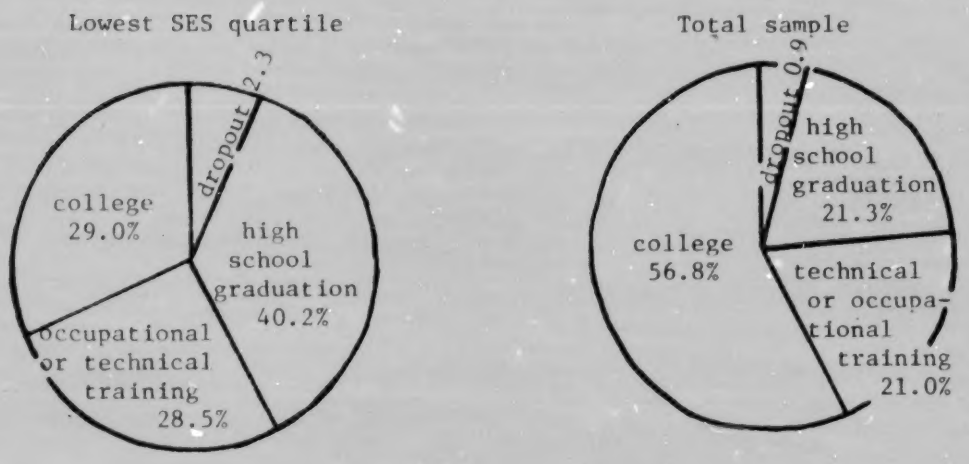
As mentioned in the first part of the literature review, there are several pathways a youth may travel in preparation for his entry to work. Many of these are primarily educational, e.g., college, public and private vocational school, and apprenticeship. Such training, generally, prepares the student to assume a work role in the skilled occupations. However, the above section, points out that, for the most part, minority group members find employment in the unskilled or semi-skilled areas. It is not surprising, then, that the various educational pathways into work are not as frequently used by disadvantaged youth.

Since the minority group youths from an economically disadvantaged background are of greatest concern, the following findings are summarized from the Project Talent Study (Flanagan, et al., 1971) relative to the educational pathways pursued by high school students in 1960. The data of students from the lowest socio-economic quartile are compared with that of the total sample of students. This comparison was chosen, since minority group members continue to be disproportionately represented among the poor.

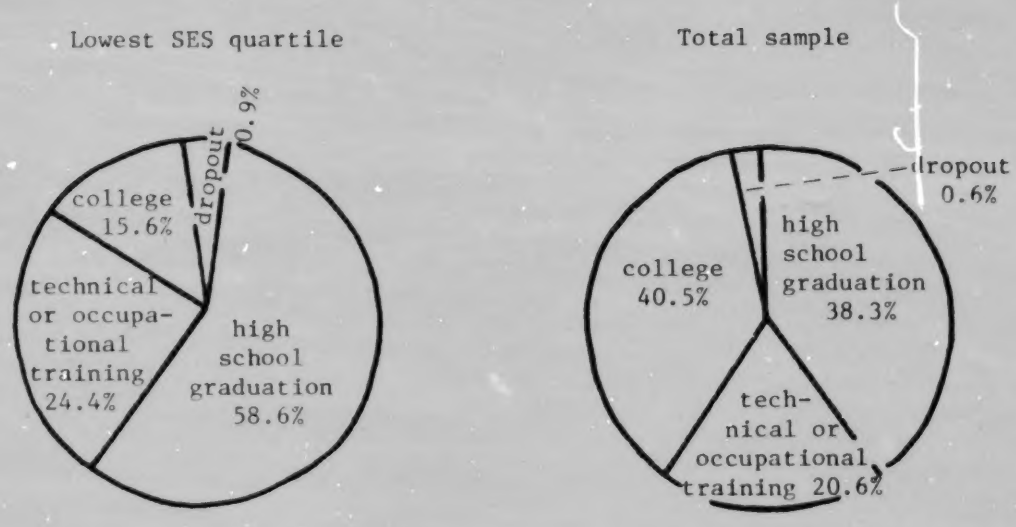
Figure 2

HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL PATHWAY ATTEMPTED BY TWELFTH GRADERS IN PROJECT TALENT SURVEY, 1960
By sociological status (SES)

Males



Females



Source of data: Flanagan, et al., 1971, Chapter 2

The most striking differences in the educational preparation displayed by these two groups appear in the relatively higher numbers of the economically disadvantaged who enter the labor market following the completion of high school and their correspondingly lower attendance at college. The number of students in both groups who elect to pursue further occupational or technical training is less discrepant. Figures from recent years, however, suggest that, for black youths, at least, the levels of education achieved is on the increase (American Vocational Journal, 1971), particularly on the college level.

Teenagers in the lowest socioeconomic status are not only less likely to attend college than their counterparts in the nondisadvantaged population with equal academic aptitude, but they are also less likely to successfully complete a baccalaureate degree. Flanagan, et al. (1971) report that the probability of a student from the lowest socioeconomic class completing college within five years after high school is only 0.11 for boys and 0.06 for girls. Besides the financial barriers which block many economically-disadvantaged young people from pursuing post-secondary education, there is evidence that, among some minority groups, their previous schooling has not prepared them for this alternative. First, a greater proportion of black youths than white are not enrolled in high school (Hayes, p. 58). The 1964 Economic Report to the President noted that "Only 40 percent of non-whites--compared to 70 percent of whites--complete high school." Furthermore, due in part to tracking of children, poorer educational programs, poorly trained teachers, etc., "Many children, particularly those from low-income families, fail to acquire basic skills in the early years of school. As a result they are cut off from most of the educational and occupational options that are open later to the majority" (Ginzberg, 1971, p. 55).

Vocational and technical education have been suggested as a possible alternative for some students. Kaufmann, et al. (1967), and Herr and Cramer (1972) have suggested this alternative for black youths. Black youths having received vocational education in high school in four Eastern states were found to have been employed in higher-paying jobs than their peers who had been enrolled in either the college preparatory or general academic curriculum (Kaufmann, et al., 1967).

Another method for receiving post high school vocational training is the apprenticeship; however, in the case of black youths, this method has not been a very viable alternative. Strauss and Ingerman (1968, pp. 306-312) have presented five barriers faced by blacks in acquiring apprenticeships. These may be summarized as follows:

1. Apprenticeships are not perceived as potential occupations for a variety of reasons, including that black youngsters have severely limited contacts with "role models" in these fields and that those black students who demonstrate the academic aptitude for such careers will more frequently choose to pursue training for white-collar or professional employment.

2. The procedures for applying for apprenticeships are typically confusing and relatives and friends working in the trade are frequent sources of information about vacancies.

3. Many black youths fail to meet the educational requirements for admission to an apprenticeship.

4. The relatively few openings in apprenticeships compared to the demand for these openings contribute to the selection of apprentices who have "connections" in the trade.

5. Discrimination from coworkers mitigates against the black youth's ability to learn his trade.

Strauss and Ingerman (1968) conclude that: "Underrepresentation is due not so much to discrimination against Negroes as it is to discrimination for relatives and friends" (p. 321). The passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and recent judicial interpretations of its implications suggest that there will be an increase in the opportunities available to minority youth in apprenticeships and a reexamination of the entry requirements (U.S. Department of Labor, 1969).

Entering the Labor Market

From the information presented in the previous section, it can be seen that the typical educational preparation of disadvantaged minority youth is at the high school level (either after completion of a few years or after graduation). Singhell (1966) examined the experiences of former high school students in Detroit while looking for their first post-high school job. Those from the lowest socioeconomic status experienced the longest delay in finding their first job. Although these students used the Employment Service more frequently than their peers in the middle and upper economic strata, the technique was not particularly effective. Only 50 percent of those applying to the Employment Service were given a job lead, and further, only 25 percent of these leads materialized into a job which lasted at least two months.

As mentioned in an earlier section, young people look for work in close proximity to their homes (Singhell, 1966). Ginzberg (1968) points to the problems this poses for inner-city youth:

> The next trend that has affected the Negro is the splintering between suburb and city. Many industries, many offices have relocated on the periphery of the metropolitan ring. But Negroes are trapped in the inner city and they frequently can not get to the new jobs--jobs that they could do well, blue-collar jobs, warehousing jobs, jobs in steel mills. The distance between the jobs and where Negroes live is becoming a serious matter, and therefore housing discrimination is twice as critical.
>
> In the economy as a whole, white-collar jobs have been expanding rapidly, as have service jobs, such as in the health industry, restaurants, dry cleaning. But these jobs have often not been unioned and they provide no career ladder. (pp. 11-12)

> The Manpower Report of the President for 1967 pointed out that in the 1960s in ten metropolitan areas 985,000 new jobs had been created in the suburban rings, while the central city actually lost 200,000 jobs. The jobs created in the central city were primarily office jobs. (p. 148)

Since disadvantaged youths are less likely to have relatives or friends who can serve as sources of job leads (Singhell, 1966), they are more

dependent on other sources of information. Leshner and Snyderman (1965) found that want ads were used only infrequently by their sample of student dropouts in North Philadelphia, yet following direct application and friends on the job, want ads are the next most frequent method by which people between 16 and 24 years found their jobs (U.S. Deparment of Labor, 1973b).

Other vocational service agencies may be helpful to the disadvantaged student. Community Action programs have been shown to be successful in the placement of black job-seekers (U.S. Department of Labor, 1973b). However, there is evidence that many of vocational service agencies are unknown to those with low incomes. Edwards and Whitcraft (1974) interviewed low income families in an area of Texas having a high concentration of black residents. Sixty-eight percent of those interviewed had never heard of Vocational Rehabilitation, 78 percent had never heard of Youth Corps and 33 percent had never heard of Job Corps.

Lack of information about vocational service agencies and about all aspects of occupations have been emphasized as frequent problems facing the young disadvantaged job seeker. This lack of information is evidenced by the inability of such people to state a job preference (Gottlieb, 1967; Leshner & Snyderman, 1965), extremely limited knowledge of range of occupations available (Gordon, 1968; Gottleib, 1967), inability to specify the educational strategies necessary to attain an occupational goal (Borow, 1974; Gottleib, 1967), and "vague knowledge about wages, working conditions, steadiness of employment, and chances of advancement" (Singhell, 1966, p. 27).

Recommendations for Vocational Guidance

Recommendations concerning the vocational guidance of disadvantaged teenagers, particularly those from minority groups, have been presented by Amos and Grambs (1968), Arbuckle (1969), Ginzberg (1971), Gordon (1968), and Gross (1969). The following statements summarize their recommdantions:

1. The traditional one-to-one counseling approach in which, following a period of individual counseling, the client makes an occupational choice and independently proceeds toward this goal, is an inappropriate approach for this group. As Amos and Grambs (1968) have aptly noted, "Counseling should mean learning, and disadvantaged people do not learn a great deal by being talked to" (p. 5). Rather, counselors are more effective when they provide immediate job placement, and implement the counseling concurrent to the placement rather than prior to placement. In summarizing the results of an assessment of 35 programs for the disadvantaged examined by Gordon, Ginzberg (1971) noted, "Counseling was most effective when linked to a direct service, such as job placement" (p. 232). When the economically-disadvantaged person comes to an agency seeking employment, he will not accept the alternative of long-term counseling prior to a job placement. He both wants and needs present action.

   Immediate placement serves more functions than simply solving the person's present economic problems. It also can be a valuable source of training in appropriate job behaviors (when follow-up counseling is provided while on the job) as well as an incentive for combining

training with education. Motivation for continued education needs to be something "More earthy than the lure of self-improvement or some distant goal" (Amos & Grambs, 1968, p. 5). Work experience can also be effective in tackling the problem of impoverished occupational information. As written sources of occupational information re often inappropriate for this group and their immediate surroundings present only limited occupational roles, work experiences started in high school and supplemented by visits to a variety of work sites can be effective ways, among others, to increase the occupational information available to this group.

2. Besides placement, guidance personnel need to devote more time to training in appropriate job-seeking behavior.

3. Those working with disadvantaged youth, whether in an instructional role or a counseling role, need accurate information on both the current local labor market and future projections. Because of their economic needs, these students can ill-afford to be either trained for or encouraged to seek non-existant jobs.

4. Greater coordination is needed among all the agencies working with disadvantaged individuals. Amos and Grambs (1968) also emphasize the importance of one person assuming a central and continuing role in their vocational guidance lest the individual be lost in the process of referral to other agencies for service.

5. Because of the importance of peer group pressure among disadvantaged students, group work methods are often times effective. Correspondingly paraprofessionals and indigenous personnel can often be successfully incorporated into the guidance program.

6. Finally, outreach is of crucial importance in successfully serving the needs of the disadvantaged. As noted earlier, the disadvantaged are often unfamiliar with the resources provided by various agencies. The complicated processes involved in applying for assistance may further discourage the disadvantaged youth even if he does approach the agency. Outreach must also be made to the significant others in the youths surroundings, especially, other family members, if the vocational planning is to be effective.

Women's Placement Needs

> Fourteen million women 16 and over--more than one fifth of all the women in the United States--are today among the 35 million people living in poverty. This is greater than both the numbers of impoverished men (10.5 million) and of impoverished children under 16 (also 10.5 million).
>
> Women head 10 per cent of all families, but they head 25 per cent of poor families, and most significantly, 75 per cent of nonwhite poor families. (Washington, 1968, p. 170)

The problems facing the disadvantaged female were covered in the previous section. Like her male counterpart she is more likely to find employment in unskilled and semiskilled occupations, particularly those in the service sector. These jobs have been particularly low paying and offer little job security. However, nonwhite women more than white women have been likely to pursue a continuous pattern of work as evidenced by the percentages presented in Figure 1 in the previous section. These findings have led Ginzberg (1966) to conclude that the isolation of American women, especially married women, from the world of work has been a phenomena true only of the middle class and upper class women in our society.

This section, therefore, will primarily discuss the vocational development of the middle class adolescent girl. The labor force needs of World War II were instrumental in providing a socially acceptable place for women in the work force. Since that time, women have increased their participation to the point where nine out of every ten women can now anticipate working at some time during their lives (Washington, 1968).

Women's Participation in the Labor Force

The Manpower Report of the last decade evidenced the increasing participation of women in work roles. Although the small percentage of women who have remained single have necessarily had to depend on work for their economic support, the percentage of married women participating in the work force has been steadily increasing, such that in 1973, over 42 percent of the wives in this country were working (U.S. Department of Labor, 1973). Among white women, the pattern of participation has been a function of marriage, age of child-bearing, and number of children (U.S. Department of Labor, 1967). This has yielded a cyclical picture of participation--working during the years prior to child-bearing, removal from the work force during their children's preschool years, and finally, return to the work force on a continuous basis (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974). There are indications, however, that this pattern may be changing as "participation rates for wives with pre-school children have risen sharply" (U.S. Department of Labor, 1973, p. 32). Correspondingly, increasing numbers of women may demonstrate continuous work histories. In accord with this observation, the Wall Street Journal has reported lower turnover rates among women workers both in comparison with previous rates and, in some instances, when compared to those rates of their male coworkers ("Women in Work Force, 1974).

Despite the rise in the participation rates of women, there has been little progress demonstrated in the occupational roles which they occupy.

Table 2 compares the occupational grouping of women in 1973 with those of women in 1960 and those of men in 1973. Women continue to find the greatest employment in the clerical and service areas. Operative work also commands the attention of a sizable proportion of the women. In fact, these three occupational categories contained a larger percentage of the women workers in 1973 than they did in 1960. Even within these categories, women are concentrated in relatively few job areas. As the Manpower Report of the President in 1974 notes: "In 1970, half of all employed women were in just 17 occupations (many of them the kind often stereotyped as 'women's work'), but half of all employed men were distributed among 60 occupations" (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974, p. 107).

Table 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND SEX, 1960 AND 1973

Occupational Group	Percent Female 1960	Percent Female 1973	Percent Male 1973
White collar total	55.3	60.7	39.8
Professional & technical	12.4	14.5	13.6
Managers & administrators	5.0	4.9	13.6
Sales workers	7.7	6.9	6.1
Clerical workers	30.3	34.3	6.6
Blue collar total	16.6	16.2	47.4
Craft and kindred workers	1.0	1.4	20.8
Operatives	15.2	13.8	18.8
Nonfarm laborers	0.4	0.9	7.7
Service workers total	23.7	21.6	7.9
Private household workers	8.9	4.1	0.1
Other service workers	14.8	17.5	7.9
Farmworkers total	4.4	1.6	4.8
Farmers & farm managers	0.5	0.3	3.0
Farm laborers & supervisors	3.2	1.3	1.8

Source: Manpower Report of the President, April 1974, p. 268 (Table A-11)

Not only are women's occupations more limited than men's, but their earnings are markedly lower. Although, this can be explained in part by the types of jobs women hold, their intermittent participation in the labor force, and their lower levels of educational attainment, women still earn less than their male coworkers even when these factors are controlled (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974, p. 120).

Women's intermittent participation in the labor market due to marriage and child-bearing has also limited their occupational mobility, such that married women with children were more apt to experience downward mobility rather than upward mobility between their first jobs and their present jobs. Even among women who had continuous work experience, the upward mobility was only half that reported for men (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974, p. 122). One explanation for this lack of mobility is the important effect which a woman's family responsibilities have. Ginzberg (1966) calls attention to women's "derived status," that is, that their social position is oft times determined by their husband's occupational role. Because of the greater importance attached to the husband's work role, women will be more inclined to relocate because of their husband's career demands and can devote less time during their off-work hours to career-related matters as they continue to shoulder the major household and child-raising responsibilities (Ginzberg, 1966; U.S. Department of Labor, 1974). These factors are clearly not conducive to upward career mobility.

These experiences of women in the labor market--their concentration in limited occupational categories, their poorer rates of pay, and lesser chances of advancement--have definite effects on young women preparing to enter the labor market, particularly in terms of the models presented. As Baruch (1972) has noted: "If a subject's mother worked but had also experienced negative personal consequences because of her career, the subject evaluated women's competence highly but was unfavorable to the dual role pattern" (p. 37).

Vocational Planning and Preparation of the Adolescent Girl

Although both parental expectations and those of society, in general, are in the direction of a career for males, women are expected to reach their fulfillment in a homemaking capacity. As Ginzberg (1966) has noted, from the time a boy is a child, he is frequently queried regarding "What are you going to ge when you grow up?" An acceptable answer from him is an occupational title. On the other hand, it is equally acceptable, and perhaps even more acceptable, for a young girl to respond that she will be a "wife" or "mother." These goals apparently show little change as the girls age. Kaufman and his associates (1967) concluded on the basis of interviews with high school girls that vocational goals are "regarded as subsidiary to the primary female roles of wife and mother" (p. 10-4). Horner (1969) has noted that even academic success creates anxiety in some college women because of the perceived threat it denotes to their marriageability. She, correspondingly, warns that even if the educational and legal barriers to female achievement are removed, a psychological barrier may still remain.

Given these considerations, some writers (Ginzberg, 1966; Herr & Cramer, 1972) have concluded that the first decision which a girl must make is whether or not she will work. This conclusion, however, is contradicted by the fact that nine out of ten women can anticipate at some

time in their lives (Washington, 1968). Secondly, if her life parallels that of the average married woman, she can expect to combine marriage and a job during about 25 years of her life (Stevenson, 1973). Despite the large proportion of a woman's life that a job commands, the following statements by Kovar (1968) typify the role of a career from the adolescent girl's viewpoint:

> The girl wants to work for a year to two after marriage and in the somewhat distant future, perhaps after children go to school, but such work entails no real involvement in a career. She engaged in little serious speculation about career choice, though she mentions the possibility of the customary service fields appropriated by women: secretary, nurse, or teacher. . . . The 'career' is a job to go back to 'if the marriage doesn't work out or something life that,' or 'if something happens to your husband.' (p. 67)

Kaufman and his associates (1967) also observed that personal interest in the job was of less importance to high school girls than boys. They summarized: "The female respondents who did not expect to go on to college selected their high school courses mainly to prepare for jobs. Few made a decision on the basis of interest in the courses" (p. 10-4). Perhaps this reflects the fact that about three-quarters of these girls stated that their occupational preference for ten years later was "housewife." Furthermore, they also suggest that the girls lack of interest in their course selections might well reflect the more limited nature of the offerings available to female students than those available to males.

Similar results are reported for those women who pursue advanced education. In their 1970 survey of high school juniors, the Project Talent staff (Flanagan & Jung, 1971) reported that 55 percent of the girls expected to enroll in college, an increase of 10 percent over the 1960 sample. The popularity of college is further documented by the figures presented in the previous section. It was noted that 40.5 percent of the females in the 1960 survey entered college. When allowances are made for the lower probability of low socioeconomic status females electing this alternative, it becomes obvious that the most common route selected by middle-class high school senior girls into the work world is through college (Flanagan, et al., 1971). However, as Parrish (1971) has reported college women tend to continue to cluster in five major areas.

> In 1959-60 nearly 80% of the women's earned bachelors' degrees were awarded in the 'big five' areas of education, social science, English and journalism, health (dominated by nursing), and fine and applied arts. In 1967-68, these same five fields still accounted for 76 percent of all first-level degrees. (p. 34)

Unlike their high school cohorts, though, college women do not seem as concerned about job preparation, for as Parrish continues, "Much of this training was not job-oriented. In consequence, many of the degree recipients worked for two to five years after graduation in very low skill, white collar, clerical jobs" (p. 2). Not only does this present the problem of underemployment, but it also presents a threat to the high school graduate seeking similar work.

Recommendations for the Vocational Planning and Preparation of Women

Two of the major sources of employment for women, teaching and semi-skilled blue collar work, have relatively poor occupational projections (Parrish, 1971; Venn, 1964; Wood, 1974). Correspondingly unless women begin to broaden their participation in other work roles, it is expected that the labor market will not be able to absorb the anticipated influx of women seeking work (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974). This projection points to the two major concerns facing the vocational guidance of adolescent girls:

1. Adolescent girls need to be made more aware of the impact work has on a woman's life, and correspondingly, better prepare to assume this role.

2. Adolescent girls need to be made more aware of the variety of occupational roles available to them.

The Manpower Report of the President (U.S. Department of Labor, 1967) succinctly summarizes the vocational guidance needs of women:

> Young girls need to receive more realistic information from counselors, educators, and parents to help them to anticipate better the multiple roles they will have in life, especially to assure adequate preparation for the probable work role. Improved guidance materials and further conferences are needed, along with counselor retraining, to increase understanding of the new developments in women's working lives. (pp. 137-138)

Recognizing that educational programs as "presently conducted are frequently inequitable as such programs relate to women," the Educational Amendments of 1974 call for "educational activities to increase opportunities for adult women, including continuing educational activities and programs for underemployed and unemployed women" and "the expansion and improvement of educational programs and activities for women in vocational education, career education, physical education and educational administration" (U.S. Congress, 1974, p. 71).

Historically, however, there is some indication that the rising rate of unemployment may result in lessening the importance attached to women's occupational development. Taylor (1968) has noted:

> In times of excessive unemployment women are strongly reminded that their place is in the home. In times of national crisis women are encouraged to enter occupations. (p. 463)

Rural Youth

The vocational development of rural youth can be characterized by its more limited nature--more limited vocational training and guidance offerings and more limited local job opportunities. Therefore, since the assumption of a work role by such youth is often contingent upon relocation, acceptance of employment entails a radical change in lifestyle for many rural youth.

Economic Characteristics of the Rural Environment

The outmigration of the younger better-educated rural youths has had a two-fold effect on rural communities (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971). First, there are relatively fewer residents of prime working age and a disproportionate number of older residents. Second, as the better-educated leave, there correspondingly is an increase in the amount of educational disadvantage in the community. These two aspects of the rural population have economic effects on the community:

> [They] hamper the development of industries requiring a relatively well-educated and skilled work force in many rural areas.
>
> The decrease in population in many rural areas tends to reduce the number of potential customers for trade and service establishments. It also decreases the tax base which supports rural education, health, and other facilities, thus depriving such areas of the resources to attract new industries. (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971, p. 116)

Despite the limited number of jobs available in rural communities, many residents live in commuting distance to larger metropolitan areas (Fuguitt, 1963; U.S. Department of Labor, 1971). Although the movement of industry to the suburbs has handicapped the disadvantaged youths in inner cities, it has created an increase in job opportunities for rural youths. It has also increased the likelihood of other workers in these suburban industries establishing their residence in rural areas. Fuguitt (1963) has observed that the boundaries between the city and the countryside have diminished, such that, "The occupation of farming has become more closely tied to urban areas. More people with other occupations live in the country, and many of them work in the city" (p. 257).

Rural areas have also become increasingly less dependent on farming as an occupational base. In 1969, not only did the rural nonfarm population comprise approximately 80 percent of the rural population, but of those workers living on farms, 44 percent were working primarily at nonfarm jobs (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971, p. 117). Although some writers have expressed concern over the limited range of occupational roles to which the rural youth is exposed (Amos & Grambs, 1968, p. 24; Borow, 1974, p. 165), the shifting occupational base of the rural community will do much to broaden the youths' perspectives.

Vocational Preparation of Rural Youth

As is true with all groups of American youth, the educational achievements of rural youths have also increased. The popularity of college, though, is not as evident in the rural population, in part, because of the larger amount of financial resources required (Boyle, 1966). Sewell (1964) has demonstrated that student's plans to enroll in college are directly related to community size. It has consistently been reported that large-city students elect college twice as frequently as their rural peers (Berdie, 1953; Sewell, 1964). However, rural girls do appear to be more likely than the boys to pursue a college education (Berdie, 1953), partially because of the greater necessity that they seek eventual employment in urban settings (Sewell, 1964).

There has been an increase in the opportunities for post-high school vocational education in rural areas as a result of the 1963 and 1968 Vocational Education Acts. These acts have been instrumental in both expanding the vocational education facilities available as well as increasing their course offerings (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971, p. 133).

On the other hand, the various government-supported manpower programs have not been as successful in their translation to rural environments. When the proportion of people in rural areas living in poverty is examined in relation to their participation in the work experience programs administered by the Department of Labor (e.g. Job Corps, MDTA, Neighborhood Youth Corps, etc.), it becomes clear that the rural poor are underrepresented. Some of the explanations for this include the problems of transportation, and the inadequacy of local employment opportunities, and training facilities (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971, pp. 130-131) in providing the training rural youths will need for their highly probable migration to the city. Some of the problems in providing career guidance and training services to the rural population have been summarized by Janzen, MacGuffie, Israel, and McPhee (1969a). From their study of 293 rural clients of Vocational Rehabilitation in three states, they conclude:

> That rehabilitation in rural areas presents some unique problems. These problems were: (a) inavailability of medical specialists either for diagnostic or restorative purposes, (b) lack of occupational and educational opportunities, (c) lack of on-the-job training facilities, and (d) extensive geographic distances which prevent continuity in client-counselor relationships. When compared to urban clients the rural clients waited twice as long from application to acceptance. There appeared to be an inverse relationship between the miles from the counselor's office to the client's home and the number of counselor interviews with clients and families. (pp. 18-19)

Realizing the importance of increasing the vocational guidance and training opportunities available to rural residents, the Department of Labor has established a Rural Manpower Service which has been experimenting with various models to facilitate the delivery of employment services (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971, p. 128).

Assumption of a Work Role

Finding a job frequently involves relocation. Over 50 percent of the rehabilitation clients in Janzen's (1969a) study had to change residence, primarily to urban settings to secure appropriate employment and, in a sample of nondisadvantaged rural youth (Miles, Henry, & Taylor, 1969), over 75 percent were expected to move from their home communities following graduation. It is not surprising, then, that successful vocational adjustment has been shown to be a function of family support for mobility, vocational placement, and assistance with the transition to urban life.

Crawford (1966) found that the family's support of the youth's migratory plans influenced his actions, and furthermore, Janzen and his associates (1969b) noted that "Counselor contact with the client's family contributes to helpfulness, involvement, and satisfaction on the part of the family in the client's rehabilitation" (p. 43). Among farm boys, families are also a major source of occupational information, a source more frequently relied upon than school counselors or printed materials (Straus, 1964). Given the comparatively larger role family life plays in more isolated areas and the probable anxiety which would accompany both changing residence and starting work simultaneously, it is not surprising that the rural youth's family makes a large contribution to his (her) career development.

Rural youths also often need assistance with vocational placement. Straus (1964) noted that a preference for manual work as opposed to work with people or symbols was characteristic of a large proportion of rural high school boys, and correspondingly "Serve to channel the future migrant into low paying and numerically declining manual labor occupations" (p. 420). Vocational planning for rural youth, therefore, necessitates accurate job market information regarding the communities to which the rural youth plans to migrate so that the student can select appropriate vocational preparation. Secondly, Janzen, et al. (1969a) have noted that the likelihood of using this training on a job is enhanced when placement assistance is provided (p. 20).

Finally, many rural youths need assistance in adjusting to the new community. Even when the youths are able to make a successful occupational adjustment, many still lack the social skills necessary for city life (Amos & Grambs, 1968, p. 24), and because of these difficulties, a significant number return to the rural community (Miles, Henry, & Taylor, 1969). The results of various Manpower Development and Training pilot projects suggest that "Intensive counseling and orientation [are needed] prior to relocation" and immediately after arrival, when help is needed in a variety of ways, including "Help in obtaining housing, arranging transportation to the work-site, preparing applications for employment, enrolling children in schools, arranging for health care, and generally getting oriented to the community" (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971, p. 138).

Implications for the Vocational Guidance of Rural Youth

The implications of the preceding sections for the vocational guidance of rural youth can be summarized as follows:

1. Because of the great dispersion of training opportunities and vocational service agencies in rural areas, it would appear to

be crucially important that some agency or person on a local level be responsible for providing rural youth with accurate job market information (both local and in nearby metropolitan areas) as well as information on the resources available for further training for job placement.

2. Parental counseling will frequently be an adjunct to vocational planning with rural youth.

3. Often training in the social skills necessary for living in an urban envionment will be crucial if the job or educational placement is to be successful.

Educational Attainment

Just as a person's sex, race, and community of residence (rural vs. urban) are determinants of his or her occupational role, earnings, and career mobility, so, too, are these latter determined to a large extent by educational attainment. This section will consider the career development of three groups of students with varying levels of educational attainment: the dropout, the noncollege-bound high school graduate, and the college-bound high school graduate.

The Dropout

Job placement is determined, to a large measure, by the education a person has received, the guidance services he has used, and the job openings available to him. It is, therefore, not surprising that if a person's level of educational preparation is well below that required for the entry level of most jobs, the effectiveness of vocational guidance services is hampered. As Ginzberg (1971) has observed concerning the relationship of education and guidance:

> A precondition which must be met before guidance can be helpful in the career development of young people is that their early schooling provide them with the fundamental skills that will enable them to take advantage of a variety of options that exists in and out of school. Guidance cannot compensate for a major failure of the educational system. (p. 55)

The narrow range of vocational alternatives available to the school dropout are evidenced by the classification of jobs by educational entry requirements prepared by the staff of the Occupational Outlook Quarterly. Only 71 jobs were listed under the category of "jobs for which a high school education is preferred but not essential" (Herr & Cramer, 1972, p. 302). Yet, approximately one million students drop out of high school each year (Shertzer & Stone, 1971, p. 18). The 30 to 40 percent of the students who begin high school, but fail to complete it, (Shertzer & Stone, 1971, p. 18) eventually are predominantly found employed in low level blue-collar and service jobs (Herr & Cramer, 1972, p. 300) and disproportionately represented among the unemployed (U.S. Department of Labor, 1972, p. 77).

Because of the problems the dropout faces in entering the labor market, the focus of the attack on the problems of school leaving has been on programs designed to identify potential dropouts before they leave school and provide supportive guidance services in order to keep them enrolled (Cottle, 1968; Herr & Cramer, 1972, pp. 300-304; Peters & Farwell, 1967, pp. 393-394; Shertzer & Stone, 1971, pp. 18-20). However, there is strong evidence that dropping out of school represents a means of escaping a history of academic failure for many students (Cottle, 1968, p. 195; Gaetano, 1968; Peters & Farwell, 1967, p. 394) originating during the elementary school years (Wolfbein, 1959). Questioning of students concerning their reasons for leaving (Williams, 1963) validates this conclusion as "lack of interest in school" and "lack of success in school" are among the major reasons given by students for dropping out. Anderson and Stahl (1970) found that only one percent of the boys in their sample of

dropouts had returned to school as a means of obtaining training over the two year period following leaving school. The female dropout, however, was more likely to return to school; this finding is not unexpected since pregnancy has also been a major reason for leaving school (Williams, 1963).

Because of these apparently negative attitudes of many dropouts toward the school system, Cottle (1968) has concluded:

> It is a definite mistake to undertake this task with the objective of keeping all potential dropouts in school. Rather, the objective should be the most appropriate placement of each individual in terms of his knowledge and his choices: in school, when this is indicated by the individual's situations and choices, and where the school still meets his needs; or out of school, when exploration of the situation causes the individual to choose some other training or job placement as more appropriate for him. (p. 198)

Correspondingly, Cottle has emphasized the importance of greater coordination between the Employment Service and school counselors in order that a larger variety of options are available to the school leaver. Herr and Cramer (1972, pp. 302-303) document the many government-supported vocational training programs which are appropriate for school leavers. Despite the wide array of programs available as well as the benefits that apparently accrue from further training (Egermeier, 1968), existing programs are not widely used (Anderson & Stahl, 1970).

Dropouts need to know about these programs before they leave school both because their receptivity to training decreases as the time since leaving increases (Anderson & Stahl, 1970) and because of the danger that many students' histories of academic failure will become translated into a picture of vocational failure (Leubling, 1967 and Super, 1963). Leubling (1967) in his study of high school dropouts in New York City reported that many of adolescents who were given information on a job opening failed to report for the interview, and further many of those who were actually hired failed to report to the job, largely because of a lack of self-confidence.

These findings suggest several implications for those providing guidance services to school dropouts and can be summarized as follows:

1. Early identification of potential school dropouts is essential and possible (Cottle, 1968; Ohlsen, 1974, p. 254)

2. Better coordination is needed among the various agencies serving the dropout and the training programs available.

3. School dropouts need <u>successful</u> work experiences so that histories of academic failure are not reconfirmed in the work world. Correspondingly, as with the disadvantaged student, follow-through on placement would seem essential, particularly in regard to on-the-job counseling.

Noncollege-Bound

The noncollege-bound high school student will typically be found among those students enrolled in either the general academic program or the vocational education program. Students in the latter program receive training in specific vocational areas, such as office practice, agriculture, or trade and industrial subjects, to mention just a few. Oftentimes the skills learned in these programs prepare the high school student to meet entry requirements for jobs in the community. As Kaufman and his associates (1967) have emphasized: "The primary purpose of vocational education, whether offered in a comprehensive or vocational school on the secondary or post high school level, is to provide students with and training to obtain employment" (p. 3-1). Students enrolled in the general curriculum, on the other hand, "are the unfortunate inmates, in most instances, of a curriculum that is neither fish nor fowl, neither truly vocational nor truly academic" (Marland, 1972, p. 35). However, despite these possible curricular deficiences, graduation from high school, in itself, opens pathways for these students in terms of further education possibilities, training programs sponsored by various businesses and industries, and a wide array of job possibilities (Ginzberg, 1971, p. 59).

The post-high school placement problems of youths in these programs can be considered in relationship to the paradigm mentioned previously:

$$\text{Post high school placement} = f\left(\begin{array}{l}\text{Educational}\\ \text{background}\end{array}\right)\left(\begin{array}{l}\text{Guidance}\\ \text{services}\\ \text{received}\end{array}\right)\left(\begin{array}{l}\text{Job and}\\ \text{educational}\\ \text{opportunities}\\ \text{available}\end{array}\right)$$

Studies which have examined the placement of high school students, especially those concerned with students enrolled in vocational education programs indicate that often the post high school placements of such youths do not reflect their educational background. Kaufman, et al., (1967) reported that the post high school employment of from 19 to 88 percent of the students who were enrolled in various vocational programs did not reflect the training they had received (p. 6-20). Given adequate educational preparation, therefore, means examining the guidance services the students receive and the job opportunities in the community to explain the discrepancies between training and employment (i.e. the suggested underutilization of their training).

High school counselors direct the major thrust of their guidance activities to the counseling of college-bound youth (Campbell, 1968; Kaufman, et al., 1967; Shapiro & Asher, 1972) and are less helpful with job placement plans than educational planning (Muro & Revello, 1970). Shapiro and Asher (1972), however, point out that the college-bound youth is more likely to have discussed his plans with family members, friends, and other school personnel. Correspondingly, the counselor's involvement in these students plans may be redundant. The employment-bound, non-college-oriented youth, conversely, tends to "perceive the school, the counselor, and the personnel within the school as favoring the college-bound" (Betz, Engle & Mallison, 1969, p. 992). Furthermore, 41 percent of those in Betz, Engle, and Mallison's sample also did not find their parents to be of help in formulating educational or vocational goals. These students, however, when compared to their college-bound peers, more frequently "Fail to see the important relationships between school experiences and identifiable steps

beyond school" (Hunt, 1974, p. 36). The implication of these studies is that school personnel frequently neglect those students who present the most pressing guidance needs.

Kaufman, et al. (1967) suggest that one of the reasons counselors may neglect the employment-bound youth is the counselor's relatively poor preparation in the use of occupational information coupled with limited first-hand wage-earning experiences (p. 4-15). It has also been noted that the college-bound student is more similar in background, values, and plans to the counselor than is the noncollege-bound student (Shapiro & Asher, 1972). Specifically, Shapiro and Asher (1972) have reported, the noncollege-bound youth is more likely to display problems in both oral and written expressiveness. Since guidance practitioners have demonstrated a preference for spending the majority of their time in one-to-one verbal counseling interactions (Campbell, 1968), it is not surprising that students who demonstrate less verbal facility would be underrepresented in the services received.

Besides the guidance services provided for the student, the employment opportunities available within a community also affect post-high school placement. As Moguli (1973) has noted, young people entering the labor market with minimal skills and work experience have the most difficulty securing work in a competitve labor market. This may be a problem for the general curriculum student, but should be less so for the vocational education graduate. Unfortunately though, as an examination of the vocational education offerings in four North Central states revealed, the enrollments in the vocational programs do not always correspond to the occupational opportunities in the community (Kaufman, et al., 1967, p. 3-16).

The major implication of these studies on the guidance of the noncollege-bound student has been the importance of "outreach" by the counselor (Betz, Engle & Mallison, 1969). Because of difficulties in expressivety as well as the limited amount of help parents provide the noncollege-bound student, counselors are urged not only to seek out these students for services, but also to consider the merits of providing educational and vocational information to their parents.

College Bound

When the paradigm of placement as a function of educational attainment, guidance services received, and employment opportunities available is applied to the college graduate, it is not surprising to find that college graduates have, in the past, been represented in the best paying jobs (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974, p. 118). For all extents and purposes, the college graduate has achieved the maximal educational benefit, and, as reported in the previous section, is likely to have been the major recipient of the high school's guidance effort. His employment, therefore, has reflected the employment opportunities available both in his area of specialty and in the general labor market. As Sargeant (1974) has noted that as unemployment figures rise, so, too, does the unemployment among college graduates, but college graduates display significantly less unemployment than their peers with less education.

Concerns have been expressed that the pattern of employment of college graduates may be changing. It is expected that the supply of college

graduates will exceed the number of jobs requiring a college education sometime between 1980 and 1985 ("Job Patterns to Change," 1974; National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, 1972; Sargeant, 1974). It is expected that because of this oversupply of college graduates, many jobs which had not previously required a college degree will become the province of college graduates and, while unemployment may not be a major problem for this group, "underemployment and job dissatisfaction" are likely to become more common" (Sargeant, 1974, p. 8). It can be expected that these problems will be compounded for the majority of students who, although they begin college, fail to complete the baccalaureate degree (Flanagan, et al., 1971; National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, 1972).

Since the college pathway has been demonstrated to be the most popular educational route selected by high school students (Campbell, 1968, p. 19; Flanagan & Jung, 1971), high school personnel need to present to students both the figures concerning the reality of their successfully completing a college program and the changing nature of the labor market for college graduates. Both Sargeant (1974) and Parrish (1971) have also urged that the college-bound student give consideration to the vocational implications of his choice of a college program. As Sargeant has concluded: "By selecting courses of study in light of the requirements of the world of work, students can graduate from college with the most marketable types of education and training" (p. 8).

Summary

Basically six sectors of the population have been discussed, the disadvantaged, women, students from rural communities, dropouts, the college bound and the noncollege-bound students. Each of these groups have specific requirements to function more efficiently in occupational roles. The requirements range from assessment of skills to counseling to outreach programs. The following table summarizes the major vocational guidance needs presented for each of the target groups.

Table 3

MAJOR VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE NEEDS PRESENTED FOR SELECT TARGET GROUPS

	Disad-vantaged	Women	Rural	Drop-out	Noncollege Bound	College Bound
1. Assessment of skills				*		
2. Information						
a. on career options		*				*
b. on job availability	*	*	*	*	*	*
c. on vocational service agencies	*		*	*		
3. Counseling						
a. self-concept		*				
b. parental	*	*	*		*	
4. Preparation for work						
a. job finding skills	*		*	*		
b. appropriate job behavior	*			*		
c. ability to present self to employer	*			*	*	
5. Job placement	*		*	*	*	
6. Follow-up counseling	*		*	*		
7. Outreach	*		*		*	

PART III COMPONENTS OF THE GUIDANCE SYSTEM

Every society or culture provides a framework for transforming children into adults (Panel on Youth, 1973; Spradley, 1973). The methods used for accomplishing this transformation can be termed "education." Spradley, an anthropologist, has observed that "when anthropoligists describe another culture, they are actually recording what children must learn if they are to grow up into an . . . adult" (p. 3). Education, when viewed from this perspective is not confined to the classroom, but rather extends beyond the school, to all learning situations designed to lead to the performance of socially-acceptable adult roles.

Goldhammer (1972) has viewed the primary purpose of education as "to assist the student to become a fully-capacitated, self-motivated, self-fulfilled contributing member of society" (p. 125). As a member of society Goldhammer notes that an adult is expected to participate in five roles (or careers):

1. A producer of goods or a renderer of services
2. A member of a family group
3. A participant in the life of the community
4. A participant in avocational pursuits
5. A participant in the regulatory functions involved in aesthetic, moral, and religious concerns (p. 129)

This section of the literature search and those to follow will examine the means by which American society provides for the education of its children to perform their eventual adult role of "producer of goods or renderer of services."

Education for this role can be divided into an instructional component and a guidance component for the purposes of this review. The instructional component required to permit the assumption of an occupational role by youth includes:

1. Training in the specific skills necessary for entry into an occupation or occupations, or entry level occupational competency.
2. Training in the skills necessary for translating occupational competence into the reality of a job. This includes such skills as completing applications, locating possible employers, interviewing, etc. For those who elect self-employment this may involve knowledge of marketing, small business operation, or bookkeeping.
3. Training in the skills necessary for maintaining employment, or training in appropriate work habits.

These, then, are the instructional components of an educational program designed to prepare students for a career as "producer of goods or renderer

of services." These components may be transmitted through the family, peer associations, schools, media, or any of the other learning environments in which a young person may find himself.

The guidance component of the educational process is likewise provided through a variety of sources, especially when viewed in its most global aspects. In the context of the present literature search, the definition of guidance presented by Sinick (1970) offers the most utility:

> Guidance is that inseparable aspect of the educational process that is peculiarly concerned with helping individuals discover their needs, assess their potentialities, develop their life purposes, formulate plans of action in the service of these purposes, and proceed to their realization. (p. 1)

To these ends, the various professional guidance departments have evolved a variety of services. School counselor's guidance functions have been divided into the following areas:

1. The appraisal service, which is designed to collect, analyze, and use a variety of objective and subjective personal, psychological, and social data about each pupil for the purpose of better understanding him as well as assisting him to understand himself.

2. An informational service, which is designed to provide students with a greater knowledge of educational, vocational, and personal-social opportunities so that they may make better informed choices and decisions in an increasingly complex society.

3. The counseling service, which is designed to facilitate self-understanding and development through dyadic or small-group relationships. The major focus of such relationships tends to be upon personal development and decision-making that is based on self-understanding and knowledge of the environment.

4. A planning, placement and followup service, designed to enhance the vocational development of the student by helping him select and utilize job opportunities within the school and in the outside labor market. (Shertzer & Stone, 1971, p. 41)

Thompson (1964) has presented a similar breakdown of school counselor activities although he treats the follow-up function as a separate activity from placement. An important service in addition to those listed is the referral system of counselors. Ohlsen (1964) summarizes this succinctly, "Whenever a counselor discovers that a client has a problem with which the counselor is not competent to cope he should make a referral" (p. 142). The referral system should basically include local staff and agencies such as psychologists, psychiatrists, social agencies, hospitals, private schools, etc. A properly developed system will allow the students' needs to be served most effectively. Reviews of other guidance textbooks (Ohlsen, 1974, Peters & Shertzer, 1969) support such a characterization of school guidance services.

Muthard and Salomone (1969) conducted an extensive analysis of the various functions performed by rehabilitation counselors. They classified the various rehabilitation counselor tasks as fitting into the following areas.

1. Counseling
2. Vocational and social diagnosis
3. Psychological testing
4. Providing occupational information
5. Arrangement and coordination of rehabilitation services
6. Placement and follow-up
7. Collaboration with other rehabilitation workers

The elements of vocational and social diagnosis and those of psychological testing are similar to those contained in the appraisal service offered in school settings.

The Employment Service as a guidance enterprise also offers many services to its clients. Although placement is the primary service, appraisal, informational, counseling, planning and follow-up services are also available to some clients.

Finally, the Dictionary of Occupational Titles provides the following global description of a guidance counselor:

> Counselor (profess. & kindred) 11.045.108. guidance counselor; vocational advisor; vocational counselor.
>
> Counsels individuals and provides group educational and vocational guidance services. Collects, organizes, and analyzes information about individuals through records, tests, interviews, and professional courses, to appraise their interests, aptitudes, abilities, and personality characteristics for vocational and educational planning. Compiles and studies occupational, educational, and economic information to aid counselees in making and carrying out vocational and educational objectives. Refers students to placement service. Assists individuals to understand and overcome social and emotional problems. Engages in research and follow-up activities to evaluate counseling techniques. May teach classes.

In summary, although there are some differences in the tasks required of guidance personnel in various settings, in essence the services offered by guidance personnel can be summarized as follows:

1. Appraisal service
2. Information service
3. Counseling service
4. Planning service
5. Placement service
6. Follow-up service
7. Referral service

With this background information, the contributions made by the various agencies and institutions in our culture to the career preparation and placement of youth will be discussed. Their instructional as well as guidance contributions will be examined.

PART IV

PROVIDERS OF PLACEMENT SERVICES

To understand the history of placement activities in this country, several aspects of American life must first be examined. American society is attached to a free enterprise system in which labor, like vegetables or oil or dairy cows, is a commodity. As such, industry desires that labor be abundant in order that it have the maximum options for selection. The supply of workers, therefore, should exceed the demand for them, in order that industry may get the best workers at the least expense. However, there are two tenets of the American way of life which are in conflict with the free enterprise view of labor:

1. The work ethic states that to be worthwhile in this country, one must work; correspondingly there must be work available for all Americans. Recent writers have questioned the wisdom of the work ethic in our current economy; however as late as the early 1970's, President Nixon supported a national advertising campaign to bolster an apparently faultering work ethic. Consider also the social stigma accorded welfare recipients and the requirements attached to the recipient of unemployment compensation. Full employment is a cherished goal in American politics.

2. Equal opportunity for all Americans is a fundamental tenet of American democracy. This equal opportunity also extends to the labor market--not only opportunity to enter the labor market, but also to select the occupational role one desires to play. American children are urged to believe that any child may grow up to be President one day, either of the country or of their own corporation. Since ambition is a prized virtue in the free enterprise system, each individual must believe that he or she can advance to the economic level desired. When any group of individuals--be the group women, minority group members, or the handicapped--becomes aware that this is not, in fact, true for their group, significant protests arise concerning violations of their rights to equal opportunity under the law.

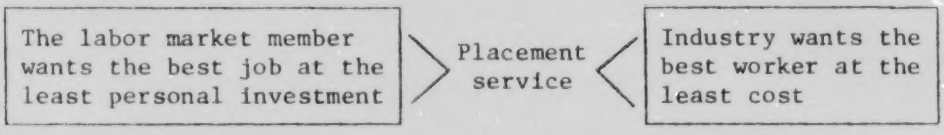
The history of placement activities, both school-sponsored and government-sponsored, reflects these two positions:

1. Industry desires the maximum labor supply in order to select the best workers. Government-supported placement efforts therefore reflect this need by reinforcing the work ethic, refusing welfare payments to all but those unable to work due to medical or family limitations, and requiring registration of the unemployed.

2. American citizens demand equal opportunity in the economic sector and in this case the government responds with services designed to equalize these opportunities--establishment of affirmative action programs, requiring minority group quotas for the receipt of government contracts, manpower programs to provide skills to the unskilled, Vocational Rehabilitation programs for the handicapped.

The history of placement services in this country can be understood as a means for equalizing the choice opportunities of Americans, on the one hand, and ensuring all Americans play a productive role on the other.

Placement services from this perspective are in the mediating role between industry's needs and labor's needs.


The labor market member wants the best job at the least personal investment
Placement service
Industry wants the best worker at the least cost

Those providing placement services, therefore, may find themselves serving conflicting interests depending upon their orientation. For example, industry may say to the placement agency, send me your best qualified individuals. If the agency, however, represents the labor force member, continued adherence to the demand for the best qualified would lead to failure to place those in greatest need of placement assistance, and correspondingly the placement agency as a representative of the labor force member will encourage industry to accept those who may be deficient in some skills but show the potential for learning. On the other hand, if the agency represents the interest of the employers, there would be no resistance to this demand. Consider another example, that of screening tests. Personnel officers working for industry find these efficient methods for narrowing the volume of applicants for a job. Although they are aware of the validity limitations of these tests, they are efficient for industry's purposes. Counselors representing minority group members, however, have emphasized the fact that these tests often discriminate against the minority group member and have shown resistance to the use of standardized tests. It can be seen that those providing placement services experience minimal conflict when they are clearly aligned with either industry, such as personnel offices and many private employment agencies, or labor as in the case of unions and post-secondary training institutions. Conversely, conflict is inherent when placement providers are attempting to balance the needs of both groups which is frequently the situation of publicly supported agencies.

The outcome of this situation is reflected in the history of placement efforts in this country:

1. Placement assistance has been provided piecemeal. Rather than a concentrated attack on the placement needs of all individuals, services have been provided to distinct groups--immigrants, minorities, youth--as their needs have become critical.

2. Perhaps due to the conflicting responsibilities arising in placement, unless legally required to do so, many agencies and professions have attempted to divorce themselves from the responsibility for placement.

3. The activities of both schools and the government in placement have reflected a vacillation between the role of a labor broker for industry and an advocate for labor.

The following sections will elaborate on each of the above points. These preceding remarks are intended as a prelude to understanding the current placement efforts directed toward our country's youth. Due to rising unemployment, increasingly large numbers of American youth are unable to meet the demands of the work ethic; correspondingly there has been the expected response by public agencies to provide placement services to this group.

This second section of the literature review will examine the contributions of the three major instititutions in this country--the family, the school, and the government--to the career guidance and placement of American youth.

The Family's Contribution to Career Development and Placement

Throughout most of the nineteenth centruy, the major institution influencing the youth's entry into the world of work was the family.

> When ours was still an agrarian society, the needs of youth were necessarily subordinate to the economic struggle, and the rudimentary occupational requisites permitted them to be brought quickly into adult productivity. The dominant institutional settings within which they grew up were the home and workplace. Choices in the occupational sphere were few: the future roles of the children were generally well-exemplified by those of parents. In short, the task of socialization was resolved by early and continual interaction with the parents and nearby adults. (Panel on Youth, 1973, p. 1)

The expectation existed that as soon as a child was physically able, he would begin to work, not for himself, but for his family. The child would continue to contribute to the economic support of the family until the age of 21.

Furthermore families during this time had the resources necessary to insure the economic productivity of their children. Multigenerational households were more frequent, and correspondingly, even when fathers were unable to directly pass on skills to their sons, older siblings and other relatives were able to supply the necessary instruction. This was possible because few jobs required advanced technical skills or education. In fact, prior to 1860, the only profession requiring advanced education was the ministry. Rather, training for an occupation was accomplished through apprenticeships with relatives or other family connections (Panel on Youth, 1973).

The family's control over the occupational placement of youth was greatly diminished around the turn of the century. The Industrial Revolution coupled with the professionalization of various occupations crippled the family's abiiity to provide for the occupational training of youth. Various occupational groups, including lawyers, doctors, teachers and engineers, sought professional status and urged the replacement of apprenticeship by formal education as the vehicle for training within these professions. The occupational specialization brought about by the Industrial Revolution has accelerated such that contemporary families are severely limited in the skill training they can provide for their children.

> Given the highly specialized nature of many occupations in our society, fathers often have only a narrow range of skills to pass on to their sons. Further, even if the son (or daughter) desired to follow the occupation of his parents, it would still be necessary to obtain formal certificiation through a school diploma or college degree or licensing certificate. At times older siblings can compensate for the defects of parental wisdom, providing for their younger brothers and sisters advice and support as the latter enter the job market. But even this form of counsel is limited by the fact that siblings today are separated in age by fewer years than was true in the past. (Panel on Youth, 1973, pp. 9-10)

Despite the diminished contribution the family can make to the actual occupational training of youth, parents continue to play a major role in the career development of their children. The magnitude of the family's current contribution has been delineated by Roe. In justifying her inclusion of the family as a significant variable in career development, Roe (1972) notes:

> The importance of the family of origin is becoming increasingly understood as a major factor, and this symbol includes race, religion, and socioeconomic circumstance. The family background may also dictate amount and kind of education and modes of child-rearing, and it strongly affects the aspirations and expectations of the children. (p. 77)

Three of the major means by which parents and other family members influence the process of career development in young people are

1. The methods of child-rearing employed
2. The occupational and work values transmitted
3. The financial assistance provided and the connections maintained in the labor market.

Roe's theory of career development places heavy emphasis on early child-rearing patterns as they relate to subsequent occupational choice. As Herr and Cramer (1972) have noted, though, attempts to test Roe's theory have yielded conflicting results. Weigand (1957), nevertheless, has demonstrated that child-rearing patterns are related to collegiate success. Successful college students when compared to unsuccessful students were characterized as having been raised in a home atmosphere of "cooperation" and "positive supervision." Their parents were interested in, and encouraging of, their child's work. Therefore, although the manner in which patterns of child-rearing may affect occupational selection remains unclear, it does seem logical that the early behavior patterns reinforced by parents may well provide the foundation for the development of appropriate work habits and behaviors.

Parental values concerning work, in general, and specific occupational aspirations have also been linked to the values and career behavior of their offspring. The differential values attached to work by males and females in our culture graphically illustrates the transmission of parental values to children. Carter (1966) discussed the importance attached to work for daughters of "working class" families in England.

> Throughout the working class, the assumption is made that a girl's job is a matter of secondary importance--although some parents ... are anxious for their daughters to get socially acceptable jobs. The girl's employment is regarded as comparatively unimportant because it is thought to be inevitable that she will marry before long. (p. 62)

The acceptance of this view of work by American adolescent girls was evident from the research presented in a previous section of this literature review. There have also been many studies of specific youth groups which have demonstrated a relationship between parental values and youth behaviors. Some of the following relationships have been observed:

1. The movement of rural youth from their home communities is related to the emotional support parents offer for the move (Crawford, 1966).

2. The work orientation of welfare children is significantly influenced by their families (Goodwin, 1973).

3. The family's values concerning "college and alternative plans" are related to college attendance by the offspring (Berdie, 1953).

4. When both parents and child share high-status job aspirations, the child is more likely to pursue post-high school education (Dole, 1973).

Finally, the family influences the eventual occupational roles available to its offspring by the financial assistance it provides for continued training as well as the connections relatives have in the labor market. College attendance has been repeatedly related to family socioeconomic status (Berdie, 1953; Flanagan, et al., 1971). Also, although the role of relatives in placement has diminished, relatives continue to be one of the major resources used by young people seeking work (U.S. Department of Labor, 1973) and by those seeking apprenticeship training (Straus & Ingermann, 1968).

Although parents have consistently been listed as a major resource used by students in their career planning (Campbell, 1968; Goldhammer & Taylor, 1972) and guidance theorists have repeatedly emphasized the importance of including parents in the guidance process (National Vocational Guidance Association & American Vocational Association, 1973; Shertzer & Stone, 1971), there is a remarkable lack of published research concerning attempts to integrate parental participation into the guidance process. The literature which is available, primarily drawn from gifted and handicapped populations, documents the benefits of including parents. Rothney and his associates (Henjum & Rothney, 1969; Jessell & Rothney, 1965) provided limited counseling experiences to superior high school students in Wisconsin and their parents. They reported that parents were generally effective in implementing suggestions made during these conferences, but that they were not receiving adequate information from the school guidance services. Although 84 percent of these parents desired assistance from school personnel in their efforts toward career planning with their children, less than one-third received the assistance they sought. Studies of rehabilitation clients have also suggested the positive effects of involving parents in rehabilitation planning with the disabled (Janzen, et al., 1969; Kosmo, 1970).

In summary, increased occupational specialization and rising educational entry requirements have limited the amount of information, training, and placement assistance parents can directly provide their children. As will be documented in the next section, educational institutions have attempted to fill these voids. Unfortunately, however, little attention has been accorded the major contributions parents continue to make in the career development of their children and, correspondingly, there has been little attempt by schools to incorporate their efforts with those of parents in the career guidance of youth.

The School's Contribution to Career Development and Placement

> The dominant institutions for youth at present are high school and college, replacing work settings in which youth was spent in the past. Thus it is useful to say that society has passed through two phases in its treatment of youth. In the first, which might be characterized as the work phase, young persons were brought up as quickly as physical maturity would allow into economic productivity, to aid the economy of the family. In the second phase, which may be described as the schooling phase, young persons are being kept as long as possible in school and out of economic productivity, to increase their opportunity. (Panel on Youth, 1973, p. xv)

Early American Educational Institutions

Since the vocational preparation of youth prior to the Industrial Revolution was accomplished within the confines of the family and its associations and since there were relatively few occupations requiring advanced educational attainment, the public schools were primarily viewed as vehicles for the transmission of culture and "the inculcation of literacy and morality" (Panel on Youth, 1973, p. 20). Although several attempts were made to establish institutions of practical education--applied science and agriculture--in this country, these attempts were overwhelmingly unsuccessful. Venn (1964) explains their lack of success in terms of the abundant natural resources which discouraged the improvement of the use of human resources and the resistance of the self-made man to "any attempt to mix his practical ways with the prevailing pattern of education" (Venn, p. 44).

Since the work role dominated other roles for youth, education--if to be pursued at all--was seasonal, following the seasonal variations in work demands. Students entered and exited from schools frequently; they alternated periods of work with periods of schooling (Panel on Youth, 1973). The Industrial Revolution was to bring an end to this open-door policy of the schools. It also ended this period of absolution of the schools from the vocational preparation of youth.

Foundations of Modern Educational Institutions

The Industrial Revolution contributed to three major developments in education which have persisted until the current decade:

1. the segregation of youth from the world of work
2. the comprehensive high school
3. the linking of education to job opportunities.

Because demands for labor in an industrial society are relatively immune to seasonal variables, the entrance of youth into factory employment during the last decades of the nineteenth century, virtually precluded the

possibility of continuing the traditional pattern of alternating education and work. Education had to be obtained prior to entering the labor market. As compulsory school attendance laws were enacted, young people increasingly began to spend more time with age peers. This school experience coupled with the decline of multigenerational family life served to segregate many young people from the world of work. The passage of child labor laws made this segregation complete (Panel on Youth, 1973).

Occupational developments in the latter half of the nineteenth century were an impetus to the public's acceptance of mass education. Several occupations (e.g., medicine, law, teaching, engineering) were attmepting to secure professional status and demanding increases in the educational prerequisites for entry to these occupations (Panel on Youth, 1973). Also, industrial growth gave rise to many new occupations. As Cooke (1973) has observed "the loner in the woodshed gave way to teams of technologists in labs" (p. 258). He reports that in the thirty-five years between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the century, more than a half million patents were granted by the U.S. Patent Office. These emerging occupational specialties required literacy skills beyond those needed in an agrarian society.

> In the earlier part of the century family connections and kin patronage could more than compensate for the lack of advanced education, but in the more formal and impersonal economic world of the early 1900's they counted for less. In effect, the school was emerging as a certifying agency to replace older and more personal techniques of introducing young people to the market place. The school diploma was coming to have undeniable economic value. (Panel on Youth, 1973, pp. 24-25).

Studies of the relationship between job status and educational attainment suggested (and the suggestion was accepted) that "education paid, and more education paid more" (Panel on Youth, 1973, p. 25). The foundations for linking education with job opportunities were established during this time.

American philosophical premises concerning the equality of men were also put to test as the distinctions between the rich and the poor were crystallized. This gap between the classes was epitomized by the contrast between the mansions of Newport, Rhode Island, where industrial entrepenneurs bedded their horses down on linen sheets and invited their guests to dig for jewels embedded in a sandbox centerpiece (Cooke, 1973), and the squalid slum housing in which their employees lived. A permanent factory force had developed in this country which saw itself as "the slave of the trusts and money men" (p. 268).

Immigrant children often found themselves in such "deadend" employment. In an attempt to discourage immigration of the unskilled, Congress had enacted a law forbidding immigrants from having job contracts awaiting them in this country unless these contracts were in skilled areas.

> But the flood of the unskilled was not stopped, and the effect of the law was exactly the reverse of its intention. It meant that the really welcome immigrant was jobless, and in the high tide of immigration, southern and central Europe was a bottomless pool of cheap labor. In the Midwest, they poured into the steel and coke factories and the railroad shops; in New York, into the

> garment factory. . . . Many of them arrived just after the invention of such labor saving devices as the sewing machine, which was touted as a boon to the housewife, but was a curse to the seamstress. The labor she had done for forty cents an hour was being done by machines, and she had no choice but to stay on and work them for eight cents an hour. (Cooke, 1973, p. 293)

"Mass education" was marketed as the means for reducing the growing disparity between the rich and the poor--particularly immigrant children.

Parents' realization that early entry into the work force was not an avenue for social mobility and the linking of occupational status and educational attainment brought increasing enrollments to the schools. The high school population more than doubled between 1890 and 1900 (Panel on Youth, 1973, p. 25). However, social reformers who urged that education be the pathway to equal opportunity (Duplisia, 1974) realized that necessary revisions must be made in the curriculum. In 1894, Parsons observed:

> [The] training of a racehorse, and the care of sheep and chickens have been carried to the highest degree of perfection that intelligent planning can attain. But, the education of a child, the choice of his employment are left very largely to the ancient haphazard plan--the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. (p. 15)

Parsons and other reformers criticized the schools as being too academic in their offerings and cited alarmingly high dropout rates to support their contention. They urged the incorporation of vocational curricula and vocational guidance services into the schools.

The need for vocational training was obvious at the turn of the century, and as Venn (1964) has observed, institutions, other than the school, were not in a position to provide the needed training.

> The father-son, pickup method could have been preserved, but democratic notions that tell every mechanic's son he can be President and economic demands for efficient training doomed this method to obsolescence. Apprenticeship could have been expanded, but its period of indenture runs counter to the grain of independence in too many youth, and when it became embroiled in the labor-management disputes of fifty to seventy-five years ago, it lost much of its vitality. Industry could have done the job, but the need for vocational training arose in this country at a time when industry won few stars for enlightenment, and if it could shove this function off on someone else, it was glad to do so; also the public at large had reservations about entrusting the training of its youth to the captains of industry. Organized labor could have assumed this function, but an organization fighting for its life had little time to worry about such matters. Religious, civic, and philanthropic institutions might have taken the responsibility, but it is doubtful whether in this country they have ever had the organization or money to do the job that needed to be done. (p. 63)

Educational institutions did not readily accept the mandate to provide vocational training. As Venn (1964) notes "vocationalism was one of the

hottest issues in education" at the turn of the century. However, the burgeoning high school population and the evidence of the superior vocational skills of the Germans during World War I brought the debate to a head. Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917 establishing vocational education in the schools. In order to implement this bill and at the same time satisfy both arguments concerning the position of vocational education in the schools, the educational system devised the "comprehensive" school--vocational curricula and academic curricula would exist side by side, but would have separate forms of administration (Venn, 1964). This separation of curricula and duality of purpose in education have chacterized secondary schools until the present time.

In summary, several characteristics of our modern educational system developed during this period. First as education changed from elitest to mass and as it changed from a seasonal endeavor to a concentrated effort preceding entrance to the labor market, the school began its emergence as the major institution affecting children's lives. The President's Panel on Youth (1973) has commented on the monopolization of youth's time by the schools:

> This absorption of adolescent time by the school has contributed greatly to the dominance of the student role among the many roles that a young person might have. . . . The school is where we find the adolescent: for at least ten years and usually longer the school is the only regular place provided by society. This has become so much the case that one can speak of the family as closing its doors to the young during the day when they are "supposed to be in school." (pp. 80-81)

The hours of the school day also parallel the prime working hours, and this, coupled with child labor laws, sufficiently prohobits most young people from assuming a work role. Second, at the turn of the century, schools were emerging as responsible for ensuring equal opportunities for all Americans. Education was advertised and sold to the American public as the pathway to upward social mobility via improved job opportunities. Not only were general links forged between education and occupation, but the schools' acceptance of vocational education implied that schools were ready, to some measure, to accept responsiblity for the direct vocational preparation of some youths. Schools also emerged as the only institution in which this responsibility could be affixed. The third development of this time period was the introduction of guidance services into the operations of the schools.

Early Guidance and Placement Efforts in the Schools

The origins of the vocational guidance movement were rooted in the same conditions which brought the major changes in educational institutions around the turn of the century. Stephens (1970) traced the history of the underlying philosophy of Frank Parsons' Vocational Bureau, and concluded that vocational guidance services developed as a means of reforming three social ills: poor working conditions, slum housing, and educational irrelevancy. The goal of these earliest guidance practitioners was not placement, per se, as the demand for labor was high, but rather selective placement in order that the individual might find the most satisfying occupation in terms of his abilities through the process of

"scientific" matching of personal requisites with job demands. Parsons sought to improve the occupational choices individuals made; however, "the actual task of finding employment was to be left to the regular agencies" (Ohio CVTE, 1973, p. 11).

Although this reformist attempt of early vocational guidance offerings is not universally accepted (Miller, 1964), economic conditions at the turn of the century do lend credence to this position. Although the demand for labor in both skilled and unskilled areas exceeded the supply, the complexity of an impersonal labor market brought on by occupational diversification, including the emergence of new occupational specialties, created difficulties for the entering worker. He lacked information regarding these new work roles and how to relate his abilities to them. Naturally, this lack of information would be most acute for those who had the least experience in the American labor market--immigrants and youth. These two groups were the primary targets of vocational guidance services which were designed at that time to be essentially informational; information concerning the worker's abilities and information concerning job characteristics were conveyed. Since the goal of these services was to help the worker select satisfying employment, and sweatshop work was decried as a social ill by those providing guidance services, it is logical to assume that these early guidance specialists encouraged vocational choices in other areas. In other words, the supply of unskilled labor would be further diminished by helping workers escape employment in undesirable positions through improving the information available to them. Industry in this schema would be forced to make their job offerings more attractive to prospective employees. As Stephens (1970) observed that these early reformers "sought to humanize the great corporations by reforming their occupations so as to make them fit for incumbency by the individual worker" (p. 151). Industry was to be reformed, therefore, by improving the vocational choices of potential employees.

Further support of this position can be found in the rationalization surrounding educational reform. As noted in the previous sections, the vocational education movement also emerged at this time. It, too, sought to improve the worker's bargaining power in the labor market. The technique, however in this instance was to increase the skill level of the entering worker. Since vocational guidance and vocational education shared the same goal and concentrated on similar target populations, it is not surprising to find that vocational guidance services entered the schools on the heels of vocational education.

It soon became apparent that vocational education alone was not sufficient to accomplish the social reorganization desired at that time. Stephens (1970) has reiterated the rationale for the inclusion of guidance services:

> A school curriculum and educational goals that mirrored the occupational structure created merely a platform and impetus for launching youth into the world of work. What was clearly needed to consummate the launch were guidance mechanisms that would insure their safe and efficient arrival on the job. Without guidance experts, it was argued, other efforts at reform would be aborted. Propelled out of school into the world of work, the youthful worker no doubt would stumble aimlessly into an occupation for which he was ill-prepared. Such an obvious waste of his training would result in a loss to industrial

> productivity. Therefore, in the name of social and economic efficiency, the argument continued, the youth who has been carefully trained would also have to be carefully counseled into a suitable occupational niche. (p. xiv)

The guidance practitioner in the school would serve as an "occupational midwife, in the birth and delivery of the worker" (Stephens, 1970, p. xv). To this end he would:

> Regularly survey local industries, investigating job requirements, opportunities, and changes in both; and on the basis of the data he obtained, would advise the school on needed vocational curricula and counsel youth regarding their vocational decisions. Equally important, he would keep abreast of developments in testing and would use tests scientifically in matching personal traits with occupational requirements. (p. xv)

However, as Borow (1974, p. 153) noted even in these early days, the various aspects of the vocational guidance process--appraisal, information, counseling, placement, and follow-up--were provided in a fragmentary fashion. He identifies three diverse strategies in vocational guidance. School guidance practitioners and teachers relied heavily on the dissemination of occupational information as the approach to vocational guidance. Collegiate guidance offices, in contrast, placed great stress on the reporting of test results. A third strategy was primarily found in vocational education programs and emphasized "job training tryouts, the teaching of marketable work skills and habits, and placement and follow-up services" (p. 154).

The climate in which these three strategies existed has been characterized as one of "mutual disregard and distrust" (Borow, 1974, p. 154), resulting in little meaningful dialogue among the various practitioners. This was further complicated by the diversity of educational backgrounds of guidance practitioners, and the rapid entry of "educational guidance" as one of the functions of guidance practitioners. The term "educational guidance" was coined in 1914 and focused guidance efforts on "school progress and educational planning" (Munson, 1971, p. 336). Educational guidance and vocational guidance were treated as dichotomous phenomena and have continued to be so treated until recent years (Ciavarella, 1972).

The early years of the twentieth century are significant in that they marked the acceptance of guidance services as a component of the educational system. However, the climate surrounding the entrance of guidance into the schools soon led to conflicting demands on its practitioners and disagreement concerning the school's responsibility for job placement. Although several secondary schools made notable attempts to provide job placement services (Ohio CVTE, 1973), the secondary school had not yet emerged as the primary institutional environment for youth (Panel on Youth, 1973) and, therefore, could justify, to some extent, its failure to provide job placement assistance. It should also be remembered that schools during this period were just beginning to accept some responsibility for vocational preparation, and that even this responsiblity was not uniformly endorsed.

Foundations of Contemporary Guidance Services

The Depression years were to mark the first time for it to become routine for boys to finish high school (Panel on Youth, 1973, p. 26). Unemployment not only brought more youths into the schools, but also brought more pressure upon the schools to provide improved vocational services to youth. In 1935, the American Youth Commission examined the plight of youth during these Depression years. The results of this study underscored the "needs of equalizing educational opportunities, of finding employment for youth as they leave school, and of providing guidance and appropriate vocational training" (Miller, 1964, p. 11). In the latter case, Congress did increase the appropriations for vocational education (Venn, 1964, p. 60); however the American Youth Act which attempted to ameliorate several of the other problems mentioned was submitted to Congress several times between 1936 and 1940 and consistently met defeat (Panel on Youth, 1973, p. 39).

Although schools were urged to provide job placement services, two factors weakened their probability of success in this endeavor. First the government's role in placement grew during these years. Not only were programs such as the National Youth Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps created to answer some of youth's employment needs, but in 1933 the Wagner-Peyser Act was passed creating the United States Employment Service, an agency with a legal responsibility for providing a job placement service. Second, the school's guidance programs were still very much in their infancy. The major growth in guidance services was not to occur until after World War II. Correspondingly, most schools did not employ guidance counselors as we know them today; rather teachers served as "counselors" or "advisors" and the bulk of their knowledge concerning vocational guidance was acquired through inservice instruction (Cook, 1971, p. 523). Therefore, although the schools were urged to provide placement services, they most likely lacked the skilled manpower to answer this need. The pressure on the school's to provide job placement services was further eased by the start of World War II when problems of unemployment temporarily "passed into oblivion" (Miller, 1964, p. 11).

The post-war years were to have profound effects on the development of school guidance services and their focus. The number of school counselors grew dramatically during these years from 8,000 half-time or more school counselors in 1953 to more than 16,500 eight years later (Borow, 1964, p. 61). University counselor training programs also expanded as federal funds were made available in 1958 through the National Defense Education Act. This growth of the guidance profession was accompanied by a major change in emphasis in school guidance programs.

As Ginzberg (1971) observed "the war's end saw a major shift in the emphasis of vocational guidance from testing to counseling" (p. 32). The trait-factor approach of earlier years was replaced by a "developmental strategy associated with nondirective techniques" (p. 98). Carl Rogers' influential book Counseling and Psychotherapy was published in 1942 and provided the foundation for this approach to counseling. This base was further reinforced in the psychologically-oriented University counseling and guidance training programs (Ohio CVTE, 1973, p. 17). School guidance services in this framework were to be concerned with all aspects of individual development as "problems of adjustment in one segment of life have effects in other sectors" (Shertzer & Stone, 1971, p. 50). A heavy emphasis was placed on individual counseling in which the counselor provided:

> A warm, permissive and accepting climate which permits the client to explore his self structure in relationship to his unique experience. . . . The individual's capacities to solve his problems are taken for granted; the counselor, by his attitudes and techniques, helps the client to free these capacities. (Shertzer & Stone, 1971, p. 193)

During this time, the breadth of student problems with which guidance personnel could legitimately concern themselves was broadened; however the services offered were idealistically to be narrowed--focusing primarily on individual counseling. The importance of the placement function was minimized, and vocational guidance efforts were terminated for the most part at the point of vocational choice (Ohio CVTE, 1973, p. 17).

Guidance counselors also began to concentrate their focus on the college-bound student during these years. In part, this was due to the fact that Rogerian counseling theory was more applicable to this verbally-adept population (Shapiro & Asher, 1972). But, even beyond this, the whole focus on education in the post war years was on academic advancement. A college education was promoted as the doorway to opportunity, and high rates of return did, in fact, persist during the 1950's and early 1960's. The President's Panel on Youth (1973) mention three sources for sustaining the higher education boom:

> 1. The first round of cohorts to be educated after World War II were relatively small and a stable fraction of the adult population. (Between 1940 and 1960 the 25- to 29-year-old college graduates constituted only about 1% of the total 25- to 64-year-old population.)
> 2. The demographic wave of the post World War II baby boom came along in the fifties and early sixties and increased greatly the demand for teachers at all levels.
> 3. At about the same time the government superimposed on all of this a space-defense-R&D boom, resulting in a scramble for young, educated talent. (p. 75)

In response to the Russian Sputnik in 1957, the resources of the school were further marshalled toward the college-bound. The academic oriented curriculum was "firmly reestablished" in the schools (Munson, 1971, p. 337). In 1958, the National Defense Education Act was passed with the purpose of "identify[ing] talented students by means of testing, and through guidance and counseling provide placement in colleges, universities, technical training" (Ohio CVTE, 1973, p. 17). The Act, therefore, that was to have a major impact on the growth of the guidance profession was also to promote educational placement as a major function of school counselors. The educational counseling of college-bound students continued to be the major activity of secondary school counselors through the 1960's. As Munson (1971) has noted, "'Getting into college' has certainly superseded any other consideration in the educational planning activity and constitutes, in some high schools, the major, if not the entire, thrust of the program" (p. 175).

Studies of Secondary School Counselor Activities

In 1968, there were approximately 47,000 school counselors (National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, 1972). At about this same time,

studies were conducted on the distribution of school counselors' time in various activities. These studies have yielded markedly similar results and support the contention that the bulk of school counselors time is spent in counseling, especially with the college-bound student.

A study by Kaufman and his associates in 1967 of the activities of school guidance personnel in five middle Atlantic states presented the following summary of how counselors spent their time:

> A typical counselor observed in this study was involved 10 per cent of the time in record keeping, 50 per cent in conducting interviews, 8 per cent in administering tests, 2 per cent in handling disciplinary problems, 19 per cent in consulting with teachers, and 11 per cent in other general activities. (p. 4-13)

Futhermore, "most of the guidance people were college-oriented and they ... depended on the student to take the initiative in seeking information in order to make a vocational choice" (Kaufman, et al., 1967, p. 4-18). This observation was supported by data gathered from graduates of various curricular programs. About one-half of the vocational curriculum graduates as compared to three-fourths of the academic graduates recalled discussing their course choices with a guidance counselor. Job plans were recalled as an item of discussion by only about one-fifth of the vocational education graduates and approximately one-third of the academic graduates (p. 12-6). A major weakness noted by the panel of experts who observed these guidance programs lay in the "lack of occupational experience of a wage-earning type" by the guidance staff (p. 4-15).

In the fall of 1966, Campbell and his associates began a nationwide survey of guidance activities in the secondary schools. They canvassed counselors, teachers, students, parents, and administrators in various school settings (urban and rural; academic, comprehensive, and vocational). They observed that "counselors typically devoted the largest bulk of their time to counseling (a median of 40 percent), and budgeted the remaining time in small portions to a large range of guidance activities. The largest block of individual counseling was related to college education" (Campbell, et al., 1968, p. ix).

They also examined the utilization of guidance services by students. Over one half of the 3038 students responding indicated that they used the following guidance services: aid in course selection, test administration and interpretation, and planning a program of study. The three services least used by the students in this sample were: job placement (12%), personal adjustment counseling (14%), and parent conference (18%). The low figure for job placement is particularly noteworthy since over one-third of the students mentioned that they used the guidance services in gaining admission to post high school institutions (Campbell, et al., 1968, p. 27).

Cook (1971) has summarized the results presented in Armor's book The American School Counselor in 1969. The distribution of counselor time in this study parallels that of the others. Individual counseling of students consumed approximately 50 percent of the counselors' time; 14 percent of their time was spent on clerical and paperwork tasks; and another 9 percent of their time was spent in parent conferences. A myriad of other guidance activities were provided in the remaining time. The time spent in counseling

activities was further divided into four areas. In general, counselors in Armor's sample spent "about one-third of their time in educational counseling, almost one-third in therapeutic counseling, about 20% in college counseling, and about 15% in vocational counseling" (p. 525). These figures have led Cook (1971) to conclude that "over the years general educational counseling has emerged over occupational counseling as the main counseling concern in the schools, and personal problem counseling has developed as a new and rather prominent concern in recent years" (p. 525).

In summary, individual counseling has clearly emerged as the major activity of school guidance personnel. The previously mentioned studies as well as those of Shapiro and Asher (1972), Betz, Engle, and Mallison (1969), and Flanagan, et al. (1971) indicate that the major recipient of this service has been the college-bound student.

The conditions have led Kaufman et al. (1967) to conclude that little "effective vocational counseling" occurs on the high school level.

> In the junior high school, the counselor's role is to slot students into tracks--academic, vocational, or general. In the senior high school most of the counselor's time is spent with those seniors who plan to go on to college. (p. 13-5)

Ginzberg (1972) has questioned the wisdom of this preoccupation with individual counseling in light of the high counselor-student ratios. The National Advisory Council on Vocational Education (1972) reports a ratio of 475 secondary students per counselor. The average number of senior high students per counselor in the Kaufman et al. (1967) study was 441, and in the Campbell (1968) study, counselors reported a median ratio of 380 students per counselor. Given these ratios, Ginzberg (1972) observed:

> A suburban high school student, who generally has the greatest access to guidance services, sees a counselor on the average of two to four times a year for less than 20 minutes at each session in his six years of junior and senior high school. (p. 51)

Because of these severe limitations on the amount of time counselors can logically spend with an individual student, the counselor's effectiveness is questionable. Campbell (1968) has summarized the magnitude of this problem for school guidance personnel:

> The root problem seems to be one of selecting for the guidance program a set of appropriate goals which are attainable within the current and projected resources of the school. In this study, the services and functions expected from the programs characteristically were far more than the guidance staff could be expected to provide with available resources and methods. Not uncommonly, a single counselor was confronted with a considerable range of service needs, including such one-to-one services as individual counseling and conferences with parents, group activities such as testing and group vocational guidance sessions, and many record-keeping duties. The situation in some schools was made more difficult for the counselor by including among his duties such things as discipline, substitute teaching and attendance taking, none of which is considered a normal part of a guidance program. In this kind of situation, a

> counselor must spread his time too thinly across his various responsibilities to succeed at any of them, or he must devote his time to some at the expense of others. (p. 99)

From this overview of the history of education, including its guidance offerings, it becomes apparent that the behavior of school guidance personnel has paralleled the priorities established for secondary education generally. With the instructional emphasis focused on the college-bound student, it is not surprising to find that school guidance personnel--who are after all accountable to school administrators--have, in turn, focused their efforts on the same population. Events of the 1970's, however, suggest that major changes are being demanded in both the instructional content offered by the schools as well as in the activities of school guidance personnel.

Criticisms of Contemporary Education

As mentioned earlier, educational institutions have replaced the family as the primary institutional framework in which youth make their transition from adolescence to adulthood. Until recently, youth were admonished to elongate their education to the maximum possible for themselves as advanced educational attainment was marketed as synonymous with heightened occupational opportunity. Young people heeded this advice and their average educational attainment level increased; nevertheless they frequently found themselves unable to receive the promised reward. As the Panel on Youth (1973) has observed:

> The decision to continue with formal schooling can be thought of as a decision to continue investing in the production of a particular kind of human capital. Roughly speaking, an individual will continue to invest if the expected returns from this activity exceed his (or his family's) opportunity costs. (p. 68)

The Natonal Advisory Council on Vocational Education (1972) has presented data which suggest that on the one hand, large numbers of students are questioning the value of their educational investments; and on the other, many of the educational investments made by students are not predicated on occupational realities. The Council has presented the following data:

- Over 750,000 youths drop out of high school every year
- Over 850,000 drop out of college every year
- Fewer than 1 in every 4 high school students is enrolled in vocational education
- Record numbers of high school graduates are enrolling in college during a time when unemployment among college graduates is at a 10-year high
- The ratio of youth to adult unemployment has risen each year since 1960
- Student unrest is a strong and pervasive force among both high school and college students

- Over 75 percent of all community college students are enrolled in the liberal arts transfer program, but less than 25% ever attain a baccalaureate degree

- 38 percent of all Vietnam veterans are enrolled in vocational programs while 60 percent are enrolled in 4-year college programs, in spite of the limited prospect for college graduates.

Not only has the number of out-of-school, out-of-work youth increased, but their visibility has also increased as they have become more concentrated in urban areas (Parr, 1971). Also there has been the emergence of a youth subculture in this country. The Panel on Youth (1973) has noted that a characteristic of this youth subculture is that "many youth are reluctant to leave it, reluctant to become assimilated into the adult culture from which they have for so long been segregated" (p. 125).

Marland (1973) has identified several other factors which contributed to the need for educational reform in the late 1960's. These are the following:

- The schools and colleges of America had felt a steadily increasing spirit of malaise among students searching for a purpose.

- Taxpayers were no longer willing to put their trust blindly in education; fewer than half the school finance referenda were passing.

- President Nixon had, in 1970, asked for broad reform in education; calling a halt to more Federal money for more-of-the-same.

- After 5 years of Federal investment in compensatory education, the formula for improving the quality of education for the disadvantaged continued to elude us.

- Fully a third of the high school students (more in the big cities) were enrolled in the general curriculum, leading neither to college nor an occupation.

- Many young people were entering college without a goal or purpose beyond the acceptance of the social dictum that declared college to be a good thing, and therefore a good thing for everybody--a value system seemingly reinforced by parents, counselors, and teachers.

- Intellectual snobbery sustained the age-old stereotype that declared traditional vocational education in secondary school to be "fine for someone else's children."

- Unemployment was dangerously high, while technically oriented jobs were unfilled.

- The American people--employers, parents, labor organizations, and especially students were expecting more from education than they were getting without necessarily voicing the precise terms of their discontent. (p. viii)

These difficulties in the assimilation of youth into the occupational realm--the disparity between the skills possessed by youth and the occupational demands of the jobs available as well as the reluctance of some youth to accept the responsibilities of an adult occupational role--have led to increased criticism of educational institutions. The National Advisory Council on Vocational Education (1974) reports that opinion polls demonstrate that the public's confidence in educational leadership is rapidly eroding. They continue:

> The public's conscious demand is a demand that education be made relevant to the world of work. . . . But the public's subconcious demand is another matter altogether. It is a demand that education be more relevant to the achievement of the good life. (p. 3)

"The Sixth Annual Gallop Poll of Public Attitudes Toward Education" (1974) also suggests that parents would be favorable to the inclusion of more work experience in the school program. The analyzers of this poll conclude that the schools have a "green light to devise programs that will allow high school students to spend a great deal of time outside the school with on-the-job training or doing the kind of volunteer work that will lead to a job" (p. 22).

Many of the criticisms directed at educational institutions concern the barriers to career development imposed by the structure of education--its monopolization of youth's time by a student role, the concept of a concentrated educational experience as a prelude to occupational entry, the duality of academic and vocational programs, and the early tracking methods employed by schools. Current theories of career development suggest that each of these is incompatible with optimal vocational development. These theories note that career development is a life long process in which educational and vocational experiences must interact with each other. As Ciavarella (1972) explains "educational choices have implications for occupational choices and occupational choices have implications for educational choices." The developmental nature of these theories also suggests that individuals will vary in their readiness for different stages of career planning (Herr, 1972, p. 72). Finally, the concept of a unitary vocational choice is questioned. Pritchard (1962) states:

> The perspective must shift from "the life-long choice" to the long term "process of choosing." Occupational exploration must abandon the assumed and implied goal of once-and-for-all "matching" of static man and static job. It must help the individual to become aware that he and occupations have been and will continue changing and "choosing." It must help him to learn that change to some extent can be actively guided and utilized in his own interest. (p. 676)

Spradley (1973) has discussed the interrelationship of education and occupations in the continuing career development process. In this context, he notes:

> A person may work for several years, return to school for a time, and then enter a different profession. In such a case, occupation and school both make up parts of one's career. A career is progress along a pathway, not arrival at a destination.

> What must be stressed is the lifelong process in contrast to a single decision at one point in time. (p. 11)

Implicit in these remarks and the tenets of contemporary career development theories is the importance of unencumbered movement between the occupational sphere and the educational sphere. Current educational practices, from the earliest grades onward, mitigate against such movement. Due, in part, to the early tracking of students "many children, particularly from low-income families, fail to acquire basic skills in the early years of school. As a result they are cut off from most of the educational and occupational options that are open later on to the majority" (Ginzberg, 1971, p. 55). On the secondary level, students again are required to make an often irreversible choice between the academic and vocational tracts. The President's Panel on Youth (1973) suggests that such choices at this age are inappropriate.

> By 14, when they are only beginning to form and understand the "self" they are projecting into the future, . . . to make educational choices that determine occupation and its ramifications. To compound this delemma, they also have little information about the current world of work, even less about future changes, and only haphazard ways of acquiring it. (p. 102)

This Panel has also observed that, even on the post-secondary level, training and continuing education decisions are often difficult to project and amend. They have related this to the current educational phenomena in which training precedes occupational entry.

> The training requirement for skilled work creates a "recursive structure" in which students enter the labor market several years after making their career decision on the basis of market information available then. Such a structure often produces "cobweb cycles"--ups and downs in entrants and salaries--and the potentialities of serious post factum errors in decisions, when market conditions change drastically (vide the United States science market in the last few years). (p. 20)

This lack of congruence between the educational system and the career development needs of youth has provided the rationale for the first major change in American education since the turn of the century--career education.

Career Education

Sidney Marland is credited with introducing the concept of "career education" as a unifying principle for all educational activities at a meeting of secondary school principals in 1971. He proposed that the universal goal of education be "that every young person completing our school program at Grade 12 be ready to enter higher education or to enter useful and rewarding employment" (Marland, 1972, p. 35). These statements by Marland have inaugurated the most potentially dramatic change in our educational structure since the acceptance of the vocational curricula as a viable educational offering. Another author suggests that:

> Career Education is intended to be a cultural innovation of some magnitude. While it will change the content of education, the

> aim is even more to change the structure of our educational system. . . . If Career Education could be implemented instantaneously, the discontinuity between the worlds of childhood and adulthood would disappear and thousands of occupational choices would no longer be a mystery to our youth. (Spradley, 1973, p. 7)

In essence the concept of career education is based on contemporary theories of career development. It recognizes that career development is a continuous lifelong process in which educational and vocational decisions interact in the career process. Decisions to embark on continued education are not accepted per se, but challenged for their occupational ramifications. Similarly, occupational experiences are not divorced from the educational system, but rather integral to its purpose. Inherent in these concepts is the necessity of an educational structure which allows for periodic exit and re-entrance. Although superficially such a structure may seem reminiscent of the early education patterns, i.e., the alternating of educational and vocational experiences during the nineteenth century, there is a major difference. Educational roles and vocational roles were for all intents and purposes divorced from each other in the nineteenth century. In the career education concept, both roles are recognized as interrelated and activities in both the classroom and the work setting are educational and vocational. In fact, any dichotomy between the educational realm and the vocational realm is meaningless in a career development perspective (Goldhammer & Taylor, 1972, p. 6; National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, 1974; Spradley, 1973)

With the recognition of the implications of career development theory, several tenets for career education have been offered by Miller (1972):

1. Career education is a comprehensive educational program focused on careers. It begins with entry of the child into a formal school program and continues into the adult years.

2. Career education involves all students, regardless of their post-secondary plans.

3. Career education involves the entire school program and unites the schools, communities and employers in a cooperative educational venture.

4. Career education infuses the school program rather than provides a program of discrete career education curriculum blocks.

5. Career education provides the student with information and experiences representing the entire world of work.

6. Career education supports the student from initial awareness, to career exploration, career direction setting, career preparation and career placement, and provides for placement and follow-up including reeducation if desired.

7. Career education is not a synonym for vocational education; but vocational education is an integral and important part of a total career education system.

Another major facet of the Career Education movement is the suggestion of "accountability" for educational institutions. The American Personnel and Guidance Association (1974) has defined the following outcome goals for those who leave a career education program:

> a. Competent in the basic academic skills required for adaptability in our rapidly changing society.
> b. Equipped with good work habits.
> c. Capable of choosing and who have chosen a personally meaningful set of work values that lead them to possess a desire to work.
> d. Equipped with career decision making skills, job hunting skills, and job getting skills.
> e. Equipped with vocational skills at a level that will allow them to gain entry into and attain a degree of success in the occupational society.
> f. Equipped with career decisions that they have made based on the widest possible set of data concerning themselves and their educational-vocational opportunities.
> g. Aware of the means available to them for continuing and recurrent education once they have left the formal system of schooling.
> h. Successful in being placed in a paid occupation, in further education, or in a vocation that is consistent with their current career decisions.
> i. Successful in incorporating work values into their total personal value structure in such a way that they are able to choose what, for them, is a desirable lifestyle. (pp. 10-11)

Many authors have realized that implicit in the accomplishment of such goals is the establishment of a school-based placement program (Cleary, 1973; National Association for Industry-Education Cooperation, 1974; Swanson, 1972). Since an interweaving of the educational realm and the occupational realm is inherent to the success of a career education program, it becomes obvious that a placement service is necessary for the movement of students and workers between these realms.

Job placement has been considered the "keystone of career development, . . . the fusing element that is necessary if career development is to be effective" (Wasil, 1974). Wasil emphasizes several benefits in a school-job placement service. Such a service helps the student translate what he has learned into functional reality, guides the school in relevant curricula revisions, and provides a means for determining the effectiveness of our education efforts. Those working in the field of vocational education have long realized the benefits of job placement. The National Advisory Council on Vocational Education (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968) has concluded:

> Research indicates very clearly that vocational schools which have accepted responsibility for initial job placement of their students are far more successful than comparable schools which have not accepted this responsibility. Apparently two important factors operate: the schools which place students soon stop preparing students for non-existent jobs, and the feedback from employers and graduates makes them quickly aware of deficiencies in their training programs. (p. 204)

Although schools have accepted the responsibility for the career preparation of some students for the past fifty years, the career education movement, if successful, would cause two major changes in American educational institutions: (1) educational institutions would become responsible for the career preparation of all students, and (2) for the first time in history, these institutions would be held accountable for the subsequent placement of their students. In other words, in the career education model, the school's purpose is the career development of youth. The subsequent career behavior of students leaving these schools will, therefore, be a measure of the school's effectiveness in meeting this objective. Clearly, personnel will be needed to translate the student's preparation into occupational or educational reality as well as to relate occupational and educational requirements to those providing the career preparation of youth. Some people contend that the school's guidance department is in the best position to effect such translations.

Response of the Guidance Profession to Career Education

During the past 20 years the number of school guidance personnel has increased 400 percent (Cleary, 1973), and the scope of guidance has theoretically been enlarged to encompass all aspects of student development. In actuality, however, most school guidance personnel spend the largest bulk of their time counseling students with the greatest proportion of this time spent on educational-decision making (Cook, 1971). These school counselor behaviors have been severely criticized in recent years (Campbell, 1968; Ginzberg, 1971; Shapiro & Asher, 1972; Stephens, 1970; Watts, 1973).

These criticisms can be summarized as follows:

1. School counselors are spending a disproportionate amount of time with those who have the least need for their service.

2. The counselor's preference for an individual counseling format is not only impractical, but also inappropriate in meeting the pressing needs of many students.

3. The counselor's professional identity has suffered from his willingness to assume a "jack-of-all-trades" stance.

As has been pointed out numerously throughout this review, the college-bound student is often the most verbally-adept and often has numerous sources of assistance in planning aside from the guidance counselor (Betz, Engle & Mallison, 1969; Shapiro & Asher, 1972). The counselor's role with these students has even been considered to be redundant. Furthermore, as Ginzberg (1971) has observed, counseling theory presupposes that the student has a variety of options from which to choose; however many students in reality have very limited options. The needs of such students are often of a more practical nature. Also, most counseling theory has evolved from studies of white, middle-class, males, and the appropriateness of translating such a theoretical base to other populations has been questioned (Calia, 1966; Ginzberg, 1971).

In an earlier section, a table was presented summarizing the vocational guidance needs of several groups of students (see page 31). A re-examination of this table suggests that informational needs, parental

counseling, job placement assistance, and training in job-seeking skills are guidance services which are sorely needed by many students. Studies of disadvantaged students and dropouts have demonstrated the need for such concrete services.

Considering these needs, it is interesting that one of the most frequent criticisms of contemporary guidance services has been their failure in serving the disadvantaged (Ginzberg, 1971; Stephens, 1970; Watts, 1973). The use of therapeutic counseling techniques with this group has been considered an additional means of oppression for problems that are considered as resting in the individual. Hence, counselors attempt "to adapt the individual to the institution rather than promote institutional change" (Watts, 1973). Or as Adams (1973) has remarked:

> Counseling typically ignores one half of the relationship of the individual and society. Working only to influence the individual has the effect of giving implicit approval to the society. (p. 534)

Such a position by counselors is especially incongruent considering the social reformist origins of the guidance profession. Stephens (1970) has been particularly critical of such counselor activities:

> In light of the early emphases on changing the conditions of work, society, and education, the current emphasis on counseling for psychological therapy indicates that guidance people have increasingly conceived their role to be that of adjusting individuals to the institutions of American society. In accepting psychological counseling as its primary function, did not guidance lose its social reformist thrust and thus become a conservator of the social status quo? It ought not be surprising that guidance people are viewed increasingly by parents, administrators, and teachers as maintainers of the existing order, both in and out of the school system. One can understand why guidance people have adopted the posture of sponging up feelings, as opposed to reading them as signals of needed social reform, faced as they have been with clients often full of hostility toward society and possessed of a growing sense of meaninglessness in an emerging bureaucratic society. The psychological emphasis in guidance allows the client to be relieved of his tensions with the social structure, and prepared merely to accommodate to it, rather than being prepared to change it. (p. 164)

The third criticism of guidance has been its failure to provide a unique contribution to student development in favor of a generalist approach. Ironically, the guidance profession has been encouraged to refocus its efforts to career concerns at the same time as educational institutions have been urged to do likewise (Campbell, 1968; Ginzberg, 1971). Cleary (1973) has suggested that career education may provide for the guidance profession "a stable and effective role" at a time "when much of the ideological and conceptual underpinning of the guidance movement is wearing out" (p. 43).

The American Personnel and Guidance Association, the largest national organization of school counselors, considers guidance personnel as integral

to the success of the career education movement. The Association notes the contribution of the personnel and guidance movement to the underpinnings of career education. They report:

> Most of what is now known regarding the psychology of career development has stemmed from research in this movement. It is this movement that gave birth to the concept of career development as a continuing, developmental aspect of human growth and development, to the concept of work values as part on one's system of personal values, to the development of career decision making skills and strategies, to the study of factors that contribute to and impinge on career choices available to individuals, and to development of strategies for helping individuals implement career decisions. Each of these areas of expertise is essential to the success of career educationa and all of them have emanated from the personnel and guidance movement. (American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1974, p. 7)

The rationale for including the school guidance staff in the career education program needs no debate, if for no other reason than that the tenets of career education demand the unified effort of all school staff around this objective. However, the actual responsibilities attached to the guidance staff have not yet been uniformly endorsed. While some authors emphasize the function of helping students make choices among the various career education options (Herr & Cramer, 1972; Worthington, 1974), others emphasize a consultant function with the instructional personnel (Goldhammer & Taylor, 1972, p. 287), and still others impute the major responsibility for the placement function upon the guidance staff (Buckingham, 1972). Brown (1973) has summarized the various functions school counselors may perform in a career education program suggesting that the counselor's role cannot be narrowly viewed as either consultant, placement officer, or counselor (Brown, et al., 1973, p. 195).

The American Personnel and Guidance Association (1974) has endorsed the following list of "role statements" for school counselors:

> 1. Provide professional leadership in identification and programmatic implementation of student career development tasks appropriate for the educational level at which the counselor is functioning.
>
> 2. Provide professional leadership in the identification, classification, and dissemination of education and career information to students and to other educational personnel involved in the career education program.
>
> 3. Provide professional leadership in the assimilation and application of career decision making methods and materials in the total career education program.
>
> 4. Provide professional leadership in eliminating the influence of both racism and sexism as cultural restrictors of educational and career opportunities pictured as available to minority persons and to females.
>
> 5. Provide professional leadership in expanding the variety and appropriateness of assessment devices and procedures required

for sound educational and career decision making.

6. Provide professional leadership in emphasizing the importance and carrying out the functions of professional educational and career counseling.

7. Serve as liaison between the formal educational and the business-labor industry committees.

8. Conduct career education needs assessment surveys involving both students and persons representing the world of work.

9. Organize and operate both part-time (for persons still in school) and full-time job placement programs (for school leavers).

10. Conduct follow-up studies of school leavers.

11. Participate in curriculum revision goals of career education.

12. Participate in efforts to involve the home and family structure in career education programs. (pp. 15-17)

Probably the most debatable function delegated to counselors is job placement. Sinick (1970) contends that the responsibility of schools for job placement is recognized; however, the relevance of job placement to the role of the guidance counselor is questioned by many. After reviewing both aspects of the job placement function argument, Sinick (1970) concludes that the responsibility for a student's placement must rest with the counselor although he may utilize the resources of others in accomplishing this placement. In his monograph "Occupational Information and Guidance," Sinick remarks:

> Guidance workers are responsible for job placement as well as vocational planning. They may do the actual job placement themselves or they may see to it that someone else does it. In either case, they should be as familiar with job placement as they are with testing. (p. 72)

Such positions, however, have not gone without criticism. Wiggins (1972) has been especially critical of several of the functions delegated to counselors in career education. He contends that counselors will be forced to become "glorified recruiters and high pressure slaesmen" (p. 66), and that the functions of information-giving and placement have been overemphasized for school counselors. Although Wiggins has been critical of the focus of counselor functions in career education, he has accepted the counselors responsibility for career counseling. Adams (1973), however, questions the continuation of even this activity, maintaining that "vocational guidance . . . serves both to make an unfair and inadequate job market more acceptable and also to help fill the 'manpower' needs of an economy based on exploitation" (p. 537).

Despite such criticisms, the acceptance by educational institutions of the career education philosophy will no doubt refocus guidance efforts on career guidance. The dichotomy between educational counseling and vocational counseling become meaningless in career education and the

responsibility for all students will no doubt weaken the counselor's preference for individual counseling activities. Watts (1973) has postulated four changes which will occur in guidance activities. These can be paraphrased as follows: (1) Counselors will pay increased attention to vocational concerns; (2) There will be less one-to-one counseling activities and more group work and teacher consultation; (3) Counselors will delegate the more routine and administrative aspects of their work, and (4) There will be greater accountability in the counseling profession as more emphasis is placed on behavioral objectives. A later section of this literature review will present several operating models for career education and the contribution of guidance personnel to these models.

Summary

The American educational enterprise was successfully marketed to the populus as a means of ensuring equal opportunity at a time when the family's ability to provide for youth's transition to adulthood was seriously eroded. Guidance services were originally incorporated in schools to further ease this transition. During recent years, educational institutions and their guidance departments have been severely criticized for their failure to deliver the "promised" rewards. In response, the federal government has thrown the weight of its influence behind the career education concept as a means of providing for the transition of youth into adulthood. The next section will detail other governmental efforts to insure the economic productivity and equality of opportunity of its citizenry.

The Government's Contribution to Career Development and Placement

The career placement of youth has been demonstrated to be a function of several variables. Some of these variables are static such as sex, age, and race, while other variables are dynamic such as educational background, guidance services received and job and educational opportunities available. The importance of these dynamic variables was illustrated in an earlier paradigm found on page 1. The contributions of the family and schools to each of these variables has been discussed. In this section, it will be demonstrated that the activities of the federal and state governments influence the scope of each of these variables. In an attempt to both provide maximum employment of American citizens and insure the principle of equal opportunity for all, the government plays a major role in the job and educational opportunities available in this country, the education and training provided the citizenry, and the guidance services available.

Governmental Influence on the Labor Market

The Manpower Report of the President (U.S. Department of Labor, 1972) indicated that 2.7 million civilians were employed by the Federal government, making it the nation's largest employer. Aside from this large number of jobs controlled by the government is its unique capacity to increase job opportunities during periods of economic crisis through deficit spending. The most dramatic evidence of government's opening of job opportunities in response to high unemployment occurred during the Roosevelt Administration through the various New Deal programs. The Civilian Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration were precursers of today's Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps. The government has continued to respond in kind to similar economic crises as evidenced by the recent Presidential commitment to the creation of additional government jobs to meet the current rise in unemployment.

The government not only affects the demand for labor, but it also regulates the composition of the labor force. Some of its actions have led to the creation of barriers to employment. For example, in operation the Civilian Conservation Corps segregated white and black males and excluded blacks from classes in forestry, architectural drawing, and surveying (Panel on Youth, 1973, p. 39). In the case of the employment of women, the Civil Service Commission allowed its agencies to request only men or only women for various positions until 1962 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1970). The most dramatic example, however, of how government regulations can affect the composition of the labor force is found in the child labor laws. The first federal law in this area was passed in 1938 in the Fair Labor Standards Act. The coverage of this act since then has been substantially broadened, such that at present "a youth's right to work is much farther from realization than the child's right to protection against certain kinds of work at too early an age (Panel on Youth, 1973, p. 40).

Despite the examples, the major thrust of governmental behavior in the labor market has been toward the expansion of opportunities through the removal of discriminatory practices. The Civil Service Commission established in 1883 was idealistically to serve as "an employment system

based on merit and fitness alone" (U.S. Department of Labor, 1970, p. 111). Under the Classification Act of 1923, salary rates for Civil Service jobs were established based on job descriptions rather than on employee characteristics. This made the federal government the first major employer to adopt the principle of equal pay for equal work (U.S. Department of Labor, 1970). Ginzberg (1968) has also noted the large contribution of government employment to the upward mobility of blacks. Writing in 1968, he observed that

> While business has made a large number of jobs available to Negroes in the better white-collar and professional and technical fields, the greatest number of Negroes who have succeeded occupationally work for government. Government is still the major area for good jobs for Negroes. Business has opened many opportunities, but government is still the major employer. (p. 8)

Not only has government attempted to provide equal opportunity in its own hiring procedures, but it has also attempted to regulate the hiring practices of private industry. In 1942, Roosevelt issued an executive order calling for a halt in discriminatory hiring practices of business (Ginzberg, 1968), however there was no penalty for noncompliance. The 1960's marked increased governmental intervention in the hiring practices of industry. The following legislative landmarks were accomplished durin, this decade according to the 1969 Manpower Report of the President:

- Under title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it is an unfair employment practice for employers of 25 or more employees, labor unions, and employment agencies to discriminate against any individual because of race, religion, color, sex, or national origin.

- Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, [bans] Federal grants-in-aid for activities that involve discrimination on the ground of color, race, or national origin. For example, Federal funds may not be used to aid apprenticeship training in public schools if the sponsoring union practices discrimination.

- The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 [makes] it unlawful to refuse to hire or to fire older persons (40 through 64 years of age) because of their age. Labor unions are banned from refusing membership and employment agencies from refusing job referral on the basis of age.

- Executive Order 11246, effective as of October 1965, which forbids discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin by either the Federal Government itself or its contractors and sub-contractors; and also requires them to take affirmative action against discrimination in recruitment, training, layoffs, rates of pay, and related matters.

- Executive Order 11375 bans discrimination in employment on the basis of sex. (U.S. Department of Labor, 1969, p. 14)

The hiring practices of industry were further qualified by a judicial decision handed down by the Supreme Court in March, 1971. The Supreme Court ruled that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 could be interpreted as prohibiting screening procedures based on educational requirements

or written examinations not related to the specific demands of the job (U.S. Department of Labor, 1972, p. 87).

The federal government has influenced the job opportunities available to entrants to the labor market both through its manipulation of supply and demand ratios for workers and through regulation of the hiring practices. The government has used both federal spending programs and its judicial, legislative, and executive powers as tools to these ends. These tools have also been applied to create changes in the educational preparation of work entrants.

Governmental Influence on Educational Preparation

Another variable affecting the entry of workers into the labor force is their educational background. Ginzberg (1971) recognized that there are various "pathways" which may be travelled into work, many of these linked to educational attainment. Although school systems are administered on the local level, the Federal government has been able to have a significant impact on educational programs through its fiscal policy and judicial interpretation. The latter case is illustrated by the 1954 Supreme Court decision which declared segregation to be illegal and demanded that equal educational provisions be extended to all students.

Many of the major changes in the educational preparation of youth have been a direct outgrowth of federal spending programs as in the case of the establishment of vocational education programs in the secondary schools. In this instance, the federal government offered categorical aids to states wishing to develop prescribed vocational education offerings (Venn, 1964). It is through this manner that the federal government influences the offerings of the schools. It honors the local school district's right to autonomy, but offers a financial incentive for implementing programs desired by the federal government. Financial incentives were offered in this manner again in 1958 under the National Defense Education Act. This act provided federal funds to schools for the establishment of testing and guidance programs. In more recent federal actions, monies have been made available for career education programs (Goldhammer & Taylor, 1972, p. 7).

The federal government also influences the educational background of the work force through the financial aids it provides directly to students, e.g. educational provisions in the G.I. Bill, the awarding of stipends to students enrolled in training for occupations in which the supply of workers is in vastly short supply, and loan programs for the economically disadvantaged.

Besides influencing the offerings of existing educational facilities, the Federal government also offers occupational training programs aside from those available within the school. These programs include the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Job Corps designed to provide on-the-job training to underprivileged youth; the WIN II program designed to provide on-the-job training, public service employment and job placement to welfare recipients; and the JOBS program in which industry is encouraged to hire the disadvantaged through government reimbursement of any extra expense the industry incurs in the hiring or training of these workers. The following 1973 enrollment figures in government-supported work training programs were presented in the 1974 Manpower Report of the President.

Program	Enrollment in FY 73
Institutional training under MDTA	120,000
JOBS (federal financed)	52,000
Other national OJT	148,000
Neighborhood Youth Corps	
in school and summer	554,000
out of school	75,000
Operation mainstream	38,000
Public Service Careers	25,000
Concentrated Employment Program	69,000
Job Corps	43,000
Work Incentive Program (WIN)	239,000
Public Employment Program	178,000

(U.S. Department of Labor, 1974, p. 49)

Aside from all these governmental activities designed to provide the vocational training, the federal government in cooperation with the states also operates two large vocational services agencies: the United States Employment Service and the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation.

The United States Employment Service

Although municipal governments began the operation of employment bureaus as early as 1834, these bureaus were primarily associated with relief programs and provided little more than a place for workers and employers to meet (Ohio CVTE, 1973). The first major attempt by the government to provide vocational guidance services was the establishment of the United States Employment Service in 1907 to meet the placement needs of immigrants. The placement needs of other Americans did not become of critical concern until the Depression years.

The Depression years not only brought increased pressure on the schools to become accountable for the vocational needs of its students, but also placed pressure upon the government to intervene in the economic sector. The New Deal politics of the Roosevelt Administration included many programs to provide jobs and vocational training, and also brought about the creation of the United States Employment Service as we know it today. With the passage of the Wagner-Peyser Act in 1933, the former U.S. Employment Service for Aliens was replaced by an agency whose potential clientele included anyone of employable age. A network of offices throughout the country was established (Ohio CVTE) to refer workers to job openings received from industry. Although the pressure on the Employment Service to provide job placements decreased during the war years, several important tools of the Employment Service were developed at this time: (1) the General Aptitude Test Battery was developed to aid in the appraisal of worker abilities; (2) the Dictionary of Occupational Titles was compiled to provide employment counselors with an easily accessible summary of job characteristics and demands, and (3) the technique of job analysis was developed (Shertzer & Stone, 1971, p. 99).

Despite these refinements of the information and appraisal functions, the basic mission of the Employment Service remained placement. In the

performance of this placement function, the Employment Service behaved primarily as "a personnel arm for industry" rather than as an advocate for labor (Johnson, 1973, p. 14). Johnson has provided a thoughtful explanation for this position explaining that the success of the Employment Service depends on its receiving job listing. The listing of jobs with the Employment Service is made voluntarily by businesses and industry. In order to maintain these voluntary listings, the local employment offices were "under pressure to cater to the employing communities prejudices, its whims, and its collective philosophy" (p. 44). In this context, the local employment office even found itself perpetuating discriminatory hiring practices.

The Democratic Administration of the 1960's brought about major changes in the operation of the Employment Services. The focus shifted from satisfying industry's manpower demands to promoting the vocational participation of the disadvantaged, particularly those in minority groups. Whereas in the past, employment counselors searched their files for the best-qualified applicant to answer an employer's request, their behavior changed to searching their job listings for the optimal position available for the clients. Selection into government-sponsored training programs also was made through the Employment Services. As Johnson (1973) notes, 65 percent of the resources available under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 were earmarked for those below poverty level.

This refocusing of Employment Service counselors on the vocational development of the disadvantaged illuminated the inadequacies of the Employment Service in meeting the needs of this group. Both Ginzberg (1971) and Johnson (1973) have detailed the problems Employment Service counselors encountered. They have noted that placement services alone often were insufficient due to the concrete problems many of the clients had, such as transportation, day care, inability to complete applications because of reading or writing handicaps, medical problems, lack of suitable clothing, and even lack of a home phone number to leave with a prospective employer. Johnson (1973) has commented on the difficulties counselors had in acquiring these needed support services for their clients:

> Although each staff member assumed the role of ombudsman for his clients, it became very clear that the staff's collective efforts resulted in very little success in obtaining "supportive services" from existing agencies. Referring a person to another agency is easy. Actually getting the person into a program or getting a service is quite another thing. (pp. 88-89)

Johnson (1973), Ginzberg (1971), and Amos and Grambs (1968) have demonstrated that the operating procedures of the Employment Service itself were inappropriate for meeting the needs of the disadvantaged, particularly the counseling function. Not only could many of the clients ill-afford to delay placement until after the lengthly process of testing and counseling, but the premises underlying employment counseling were frequently inapplicable to this group. Counseling has been predicated on the availability of options--which were notoriously absent for this group. Consequently, occupational advice was of secondary importance both because of the limited alternatives and the concrete immediate placement needs. The one-to-one counseling framework of the past was seen as reinforcing apathy and dependence, and soon gave way to a preference for group procedures. The need for follow-up services relating to on-the-job counseling also emerged as an important concern during these years.

However, as Johnson (1973) has observed, this "focus on so-called 'hard-to-place' groups [was] inimical to the efficient operation of a labor exchange" (p. 11). Throughout the 1960's placements per se declined, and the 1970's heralded the return of the 2500 local Employment Service offices to a renewed emphasis on its "core function as a labor exchange" (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974, p. 59). Pressure, in turn, was placed on local offices to improve their services to employers and upgrade the information services to applicants (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974, p. 59). Conversely, the counseling function has received less emphasis.

Gellman (1964) has termed the Employment Service the "largest resevoir of vocational guidance in the United States" (p. 514). The bulk of its guidance services, however, are channelled into job placement with counseling being of secondary importance. As Gellman (1964) has observed the priority for providing placement services is such that during times of high unemployment, counseling personnel are shifted to placement activities. Although, theoretically, the Employment Services offer a complete array of vocational guidance services including appraisal, informational, counseling, placement, and follow-up services, the allocation of Employment Service operational funds documents the concentration of efforts in the placement area. The 1974 Guidelines for the allocation of Title III Employment Service funds under the Balanced Payment Formula presents the following distribution:

Total Placement Services	75%
1. Direct Placement Services	60%
2. Employer Services	15%
Employment Assistance Services	25%
1. Counseling	7%
2. Testing	5%
3. Job information service	3%
4. Labor market information	5%
5. Occupational analysis and technical service	5%

(Source: Office of Employment Service Administration, 1974, p. 9)

Referral of a client for counseling services is made by intake interviewers. These clients are perceived as presenting employability problems which inhibit current placement activity. Typically, as Brenna (1974) has observed they have more barriers to employment, i.e., they are handicapped, school dropouts and/or members of minority groups. Or as Johnson (1973) has characterized the situation, "The counselor was the last resort when the regular interviewers didn't know what to do with an individual" (p. 112).

Gellman (1964) has categorized the counseling process in Employment Service offices as "problem-centered, cross sectional, short term, and technique-oriented" (p. 519). The following observations concerning employment counseling are paraphrased from Gellman and have been contrasted with previous observations concerning school counseling:

1. Both school counselors and employment service counselors give great priority to the client making an occupational choice. In

the case of school counselors this is most frequently the terminal point in their involvement, whereas Employment Service counselors view occupational choice as merely a prelude to job placement. As such client and counselor must arrive at a plan for translating the client's occupational choice into reality.

2. While school counselors have been criticized for the lack of occupational information they possess (Kaufman, et al., 1967), Gellman has noted that the dissemination of information is stressed in employment counseling.

3. Employment counselors in contrast to school counselors tend to restrict their role to vocational matters. They may call upon the resources of other agencies to either provide long term counseling needed by some clients or to answer a client's non-vocational needs. Evidence presented by Varga (1974) suggests such an emphasis is compatible with the placement orientation. On the basis of a review of the closed cases of 18 counselors in California, he concluded that "Employability seemed to be more attainable by focusing on the goal of employment than by concentrating on the gratification of a variety of needs" (p. 8). Not only do employment counselors narrow their concerns to vocational matters, but even within such confines Gellman has remarked, "Little attention is devoted to problems of vocational development or adjustment" (p. 515). Rather, it appears that the Parsonian approach to vocational guidance (matching man and job) prevails.

4. The appraisal and follow-up services receive remarkably similar emphasis in both the school and employment office setting. Campbell (1968) and Kaufman, et al., (1967) have presented data on secondary school counselors which indicate that these spend 5 or 8 percent respectively, of their time administering tests. Similarly, the present budgetary allocation of employment office operating funds allows 5 percent for testing. The follow-up service is also similarly notable in both institutions for its virtual absence.

Krakos (1971) has argued that "the most worthwhile function of the Employment Service is counseling to support, through the vehicle of meaningful guidance, individuals who are unprepared for the world of work because of education, emotional, or physical problems" (p. 134). Furthermore, Brenna (1974) and Varga (1974) have noted that employment closures are related to the frequency of client-counselor contact. Despite these observations, there is evidence to suggest that the Employment Service will continue its placement priority. First, the return of the Employment Service to its "labor broker" role was reinforced in both 1971 and 1972 by a rise in job placements achieved, including an increase in the job placements secured by the disadvantaged (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974, p. 59). Secondly, the recent rises in the unemployment rates will place increased pressure on the employment office to find placements for unemployed workers.

This narrowing of emphasis by the Employment Service and the complementary nature of employment counselor and school counselor functions has prompted some authors to contend that greater coordination is required

between the school system and the Employment Service (National Vocational Guidance Association, 1965; Roche, 1970; Thompson, 1964). The Ohio Center for Vocational and Technical Education (1973) has presented a summary of the literature which suggests that a compatible role for the Employment Service and the school was envisioned from the beginning of the Employment Service's operation. Unfortunately, in reality, little coordination has existed between these two agencies.

The need for better coordination between these agencies is evidenced by the small numbers of youth who actually use the services of the Employment Service. In 1973 the Department of Labor presented the results of a national job finding survey which noted that only 5.0 percent of those aged 16 to 24 years had secured their employment through the efforts of the Employment Service (U.S. Department of Labor, 1973). Roche (1970) observed in his experience with a Youth Opportunity Center that only five percent of the youths applying at the Center had referred to school personnel as their source of information concerning the Center, and further "of this 5 percent, practically none knew precisely what the employment service offered" (p. 23). The reluctance of some youth to use the Employment Service as a resource has also been linked to its stereotype as an "unemployment office" as well as its low placement return rate for young entrants (Singhell, 1966) despite its supposed priority for service to youth. Employment Service personnel may also suffer from prejudices which affect their placement potential with youth. Britton and Thomas (1973) have reported that employment counselors viewed 18-year-olds, as compared to 25-year-olds and 50-year-olds, as "most likely to have accidents on the job, the most likely to be frequently absent from work, and the least likely to have the skills an employer would want" (p. 182).

Despite these criticisms of the Employment Service, the National Vocational Guidance Association (1965) has noted that the vocational guidance needs of youth are such that coordination between the two agencies is necessary if these needs are to be met. They have presented the following guidelines for implementing a coordinated approach:

II. Guidelines for Cooperative Arrangements

A. Cooperative arrangements are likely to be highly effective when the school:

1. Has a program which provides effective vocational guidance services for all students, whether considered to be in special programs or not.
2. Assigns time and responsibility to a person for cooperation with the Employment Service in joint activities including the establishment and administration of a program for identifying and counseling students who will be entering the labor force without first attempting college.
3. Has a readily available library of current educational and occupational information materials.
4. Provides in-service training for staff with regard to vocational choice and employment.
5. Engages in periodic study designed to evaluate the guidance and educational program.
6. Provides a varied curriculum designed to help all students achieve their reasonable occupational goals.

7. Provides, on a professional basis, the local Employment Service office with information helpful for the placement of students who may elect to avail themselves of that service.
8. Has established a systematic work-study program for those students for whom it is appropriate.
9. Informs parents concerning the counseling and placement services of the school and the Employment Service.

B. Cooperative arrangements are likely to be highly effective when the Employment Service office:

1. Provides employment counseling for dropouts and terminal students referred by the school upon request by the student.
2. Attempts placement of students in job openings suitable for those about to enter the labor force.
3. Develops a comprehensive and realistic analysis of work fields in their relation to industry and relating occupations according to their essential nature and requirements to provide those making vocational choices with a sound orientation to the world of work.
4. Makes the General Aptitude Test Battery, the Interest Checklist, and other assessment instruments developed by the Employment Service available to certified school counselors trained in the administration and interpretation of these instruments.
5. Assigns to a qualified person the time and responsibility necessary for maintaining liaison with the schools.
6. Provides in-service training to its staff in those areas with which both school and Employment Service counselors are concerned; for example, records maintained by the school, counseling techniques, current and soon available opportunities for employment.
7. Provides follow-up services to those counseled and/or placed.

C. Cooperative arrangements are likely to be most effective when <u>both</u> the school and Employment Service:

1. Establish written procedures as needed for the definition of cooperative arrangements between the two agencies.
2. Provide placement services for part-time and summer employment as well as for work-study programs.
3. Endeavor to forestall untimely withdrawals from school.
4. Provide follow-up studies of school leavers as possible within the jurisdiction of each.
5. Establish procedures for exchange on a professional basis of records, case materials, and other essential data.

6. Assist in or conduct community occupational surveys with other community agencies to determine employment needs, requirements, and job trends.
7. Insure that personnel in both agencies understand and fulfill their responsibilities under child labor and attendance laws and regulations.
8. Familiarize the public with the advantages of organized programs of placement and other vocational guidance services.
9. Arrange for career conferences, industry tours, and other programs for making occupational information a part of occupational decisions.
10. Handle each case within its jurisdiction as effectively as monetary resources permit.
11. Provide for administration of joint research projects as needed.

(National Vocational Guidance Association, 1965, pp. 218-220)

Although cooperative agreements between schools and the Employment Service may enable schools to fill the current counseling gap at the Employment Service, these agreements will probably not be sufficient to meet all the placement needs of school leavers. The focus of the career education movement is on the self-determination of the student to select his career path. Schools, in turn, facilitate the movement of students along these paths. However, the placement opportunities available at the local employment office are not likely to answer the career needs of all youths. These offerings are limited and subject to an employer's willingness to list his openings with the Employment Service. Although better coordination between the Employment Service and the school system would do much toward meeting the comprehensive guidance needs of youth, including those of placement, a referral to the Employment Service will often not absolve the school from its responsibility for placement (Sinick, 1970, p. 69).

In contrast to the school and employment service which have traditionally failed to provide a coordinated approach to the vocational needs of its clientele, the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation provides a model for a coordinated and comprehensive system for the delivery of client services.

Vocational Rehabilitation Administration

Legislative actions which eventually led to the formation of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration began in 1918 when the Federal Board of Vocational Education was designated to provide rehabilitation services to disabled veterans. Shortly thereafter, rehabilitation services were extended to physically handicapped civilians. After the United States entered World War II, it became apparent that the United States needed to muster all its available labor, including the disabled, if it was to meet the demands of the war effort (Obermann, 1967, p. 278). With this imperative, in 1943, the jurisdiction of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation was further extended to include persons whose primary disability was mental retardation or emotional disturbance. Subsequent amendments further broadened the definition of disability to include various social or cultural handicaps (Busse, 1973). However, like the Employment Service, it

appears that efforts to serve the culturally disadvantaged were dealt a setback in 1973. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 places renewed emphasis on priority of service to the severely handicapped.

The various components of the guidance system--appraisal, information-giving, counseling, placement, and follow-up--all receive attention in the vocational rehabilitation process. Following referral, the client is evaluated to determine the nature of the disability as well as the functional vocational handicaps it presents. As prescribed by federal law, all clients referred must be evaluated for eligibility for vocational rehabilitation services is based on:

> (1) [the presence] of a disability which (2) poses a substantial handicap to employment, and (3) a reasonable expectation exists that upon receiving service the individual can again (or for the first time) engage in gainful employment." (Busse, 1973, p. 11).

In other words, on the basis of medical examination and psychological information, the presence of a disability must be established. The functional limitations posed by the disability, although presenting barriers to the performance of certain occupations, must not preclude all possibilities for employment. Intrinsic in this argument is the necessity for the counselor to have a keen background in occupational information. This information is essential if he is to be aware of the job demands inherent in varous occupational areas.

Following the integration of the evaluation data with occupational information, the client and counselor select an occupational goal. Although occupational choice is a core aspect of the rehabilitation counseling process, the counselor's responsibility like that of employment service counselors, extends from occupational choice through the development of a plan directed toward eventual gainful employment. Unlike the employment counselor, rehabilitation counselors have great flexibility in the services they may provide their clients in the course of implementing employment, or "rehabilitation," plans. Such services include physical restoration, counseling, workshop placement, training in a specific job area, further education, tutorial help, and/or any of a variety of other services which will "render him employable" (Federal Register, 1969). Obviously the rehabilitation counselor cannot personally provide all these services, but rather serves in a coordinator capacity. In coordinating the client's rehabilitation plan, the counselor may either purchase the services the client needs, e.g. a hearing aid, or he may refer the client to any agency which provides the needed service, e.g. referring a client to a local mental health agency for psychotherapy.

Placement occupies a similar position in the rehabilitation process. The counselor may either personally provide placement assistance or he may refer the client to the resources available through other agencies, such as the Employment Service or a school placement office. Unlike the Employment Service, the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation is not bound to a labor exchange image, rather rehabilitation counselors tend to perform the role of advocate for their clients in the labor market. Other agencies may be used for their placement potential in such a role; however, counselors do not relinquish responsibility for their client. The rehabilitation process is not complete until the counselee has been placed on a job and reasonable follow-up services have been provided to assure his job adjustment. In

other words the entire guidance process from initial evaluation until follow-up remains within the realm of the counselor's responsibility.

The previous remarks have emphasized the coordinator role of the counselor and his ability to use the services of other resources in meeting his client's needs. Nevertheless, Shertzer and Stone (1971) have enumerated the large number of functions rehabilitation counselors provide:

> The rehabilitation counselor is responsible for locating clientele, determining their eligibility, collecting data on them, working with them to develop vocational goals and helping them to establish a rehabilitation plan. While counseling is a major function of rehabilitation counselors, other functions are performed that complement counseling. Chief among these is the counselor's effort to reach out and influence prospective clients, the community, and placement possibilities. (p. 103)

Muthard and Salomone (1969) have done extensive research on the role and function of rehabilitation counselors. From their analyses, they present the following description of the allocation of rehabilitation counselor's time:

> The rehabilitation counselor spends about one-third of his time in counseling and guidance activities; 25 per cent of his time is spent reporting, recording, and performing clerical tasks. Generally, placement consumes only a small proportion (7 per cent) of the counselor's time. (p. iii)

Although job placement is the acknowledged goal of successful vocational rehabilitation services (Hutchinson & Cogan, 1974; Salomone, 1971), it is probably the counselor function subject to the most controversy. Salomone has presented the following key to placement success:

> (a) prior vocational counseling that has led to a realistic goal for the client, (b) a client-centered placement effort that focuses on building client responsibility and comprehensive job seeking skills, and (c) an attitude of unrealistic optimism that increases the client's confidence while job-hunting and that sustains him through inevitable placement disappointments. (p. 270)

In this context, Janzen, et al. (1969) have presented data which suggest that the counselor-client relationship is, in fact, an important variable in the counselor's willingness to provide assistance to the client with placement. These investigators noted that counselors who subsequently provided placement assistance to their clients had "expressed significantly higher regard for [these] clients" (Janzen, et al.). Furthermore, clients were more likely to become employed in areas related to their training if they received placement assistance. The importance of placement in the rehabilitation process is not debatable; however controversy surrounds the amount of training required to provide placement and the designation of personnel to be responsible for placement.

These issues are perceived differently by counselors, administrators, and counselor educators (Hanson, 1971; Hutchinson & Cogan, 1974; Olshonsky & Hart, 1967; Usdane, 1974). The following statements summarize the divergent viewpoints:

1. "About half of the rehabilitation counselors think such placement tasks as (a) getting the client ready through group discussions, role playing, simulating job applications, and interviews or (b) soliciting openings from employers are best suited to the placement counselor" (Muthard and Salomone, 1969, p. 115).

2. Most state agency directors feel strongly that placement is a responsibility of the rehabilitation counselor and should not be transferred to a placement counselor. (Hutchinson & Cogan, 1974)

3. State administrators and counselor educators separate on the importance they attach to the counseling service (Hansen, 1971). Oshansky and Hart (1967) contend that universities emphasize psychology and counseling because "a naive conception that if one is psychologically sophisticated, the specific problems concerning job choice and job placement will solve themselves" (p. 29). As a result, graduates are poorly equipped in terms of occupational information. (Olshansky & Hart)

4. "The counselor's professional tasks and placement are clearly seen as more substantial aspects of the counselor's job by supervisors and administrators than by educators" (Muthard & Salomone, 1969, p. 116).

5. The rate of defection of rehabilitation counselors from State agency employment appears to be related to the type of university training the counselor received (Hansen, 1971).

The arguments concerning the importance to be attached to various rehabilitation counseling activities arises, in part, from the large number of responsibilities ascribed to rehabilitation counselors. Usdane (1974) notes:

> The current functional job demands of the state rehabilitation counselor are multiple. His coordinator activities, those of counseling, evaluation, and community relationships have all contrived to make it difficult for him to spend much time on the job development, job solicitation, job placement, and post-employment counseling areas. (p. 12)

Hutchinson and Cogan concur that the responsibility for placement is beyond the capabilities of the present rehabilitation counselor. In arguing for the creation of "placement personnel," they conclude that "the counselor can no longer be expected to be a specialist in placement any more than he can be expected to be a specialist in medicine" (Hutchinson & Cogan, p. 32).

Perhaps another aspect of the concern over placement vs. counseling is that the two activities call upon different skills. In his article on "Personality Polarity and Placement Problems," Newman (1973) reports:

> Placement requires energy, motivation, a positive attitude, specific knowledge, functional abilities, creativeness, a willingness to make oneself vulnerable to other persons, and a plan. The counselor does not have total control. It is a situation in which the employer can say "Yes" or "No," and the client can change his mind radically destroying what appeared

> to be the best laid plans. It, therefore, demands more of certain strengths and skills than passive-receptive and/or directive counseling or the signing of an authorization. (p. 21)

Whether because of the training emphasis rehabilitation counselors have received or because of the many job demands placed on rehabilitation counselors or because of the difficulties involved in placement, it appears that the trend in this area is to create placement specialist positions staffed by personnel trained at the graduate level; however they will primarily serve in an advisory capacity (Hutchinson & Cogan, 1974; Usdane, 1974). The present reality is that placement specialists whose responsibility it is to directly provide placement are only employed in eight of forty-two states surveyed (Hutchinson & Cogan). Counselors continue to supervise the entire array of guidance services their clients receive, and perhaps, as has been pointed out by Sinick (1970), this is what underlies the success of rehabilitation programs.

Despite the comprehensive vocational guidance and training services available from the Division of Vocational Rehabilition, many eligible handicapped individuals fail to receive this agency's service. Dilley (1967) and Edwards and Whitcraft (1974) have demonstrated that the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation has very limited visibility within the community. This low visibility is coupled with the inadequate financial resources available to the agency. Ginzberg (1971) has summarized data presented by McGowan and Porter (1967):

> Despite relatively liberal funding from the states, the total capacity of the rehabilitation system lags considerably behind the numbers who could profit from its services. If we disregard the backlog, which has been estimated at around 3 million, the annual number of persons rehabilitated increased from under 100,000 to over 200,000 in the 1960's, but tnis is still half the number added annually to the pool. This means that the rehabilitation agencies must control their intake in relation to their resources. (Ginzberg, 1971, pp. 140-141)

Recently, the former state administrator of Vocational Rehabilitation in Wisconsin has commented similarly that "VR programs throughout the nation continue to reach only a comparatively small percentage of the handicapped" (Wisconsin Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, 1973) since the scope of the services are determined by budgetary restrictions rather than actual need.

In summary, the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation presents a model for the comprehensive delivery of vocational guidance services. However, there is ample evidence to suggest that the expenses of such a delivery system prohibit its widespread use.

Summary: Current Status of the Career Guidance of Youth

The Career Preparation and Guidance Needs of Youth

Since the turn of the century, both the world of work and the various avenues which may be used to prepare for an occupation have expanded dramatically. Today's youth are, in turn, confronted with a myriad of possibilities for training and employment. This is even further complicated by the fact that, for many jobs, there are a variety of means for acquiring the necessary prerequisites. In other cases, an educational program may be so closely linked to a specific occupation that the educational background of the student seriously limits his occupational possibilities. Furthermore, even when a youth has outlined his career plans, he may be confronted with barriers to translating his training into employment. Such things as Civil Service examinations, employment applications, and interviews often need to be accomplished prior to establishing oneself in employment.

Young people have been found to be particularly handicapped in their career planning and preparation by a lack of necessary information. Their career goals frequently are not substantiated by occupational realities nor do they appear to be aware of the steps necessary to achieving vocational goals. Educational decisions corresponding are not necessarily viewed for their occupational implications. Young people generally also appear to lack information regarding the various vocational service agencies available in their communities.

Specific groups of young people also present unique vocational guidance needs. Among these groups are disadvantaged minority group members whose economic situation often makes it imperative that vocational guidance and placement be concurrent events rather than the traditional approach of providing vocational guidance as a prelude to placement. The concentration of minority group members in a narrow range of occupational roles further handicaps the disadvantaged minority group member. Not only is he thereby exposed to more limited work role possibilities, but he also has less connections in the labor market. The end product of such a system is that the person finds himself in heavy competition for a limited number of low-paying jobs. Young women face a somewhat similar problem. They continue to enter the traditional "women's occupations." If the increasing trend for greater proportions of women to enter the labor market continues, women may soon find themselves competing with each other for a limited number of positions. Secondarily, young women apparently do not attach the importance to their career goals that would be anticipated considering the proportion of their time they can expect to be employed. Rural youth also face problems preparing for and entering the labor market. For these youth, the problems often center around preparing for an occupational role which is not represented in their home communities. Furthermore, there frequently is the necessity of preparing for a major change in life style as they move into an urban environment to obtain either further education or employment.

Young people also experience unique problems entering the labor force due to their educational background. The school dropout faces extremely limited job possibilities and often lacks the information he may need

concerning opportunities for training. Frequently the dropout has experienced repeated academic failures and as a result of these experiences may enter the labor market with his self-confidence in short supply. The noncollege bound high school graduate, although not as limited in his vocational options, usually has only limited vocational guidance resources available to him, and correspondingly may lack information regarding the various occupational options at his disposal. The college bound student, on the other hand, typically receives the brunt of guidance services; however these have frequently focused on the selection of an educational institution rather than on career selection.

This brief summary of the career guidance needs of youth demonstrates the wide variety of needs these young people present. The next section will summarize the method by which these needs are being met.

Career Guidance and Preparation Services

The career guidance and preparation of Americans prior to the twentieth century was accomplished primarily within the confines of the home. Both training and employment options were minimal, and the school played only a minor role in a youth's life. Several events happened around the turn of the century which radically altered this picture. These can be summarized as follows:

1. Industrial growth in the United States and poverty in Europe led to a surge in the number of unskilled and skilled immigrants entering this country.

2. The complexity of work roles expanded diminishing the family's ability to provide for the efficient transition of youth into the work world.

3. Links were forged between education and occupation. The acceptance of vocational education as a program offering of the public schools implied the acceptance of a new purpose for the schools--occupational preparation.

4. As a result of changing patterns of school attendance and the introduction of compulsory attendance laws, formal schooling began to absorb an increasing percentage of youths' time.

5. Both the expansion of educational and training possibilities as well as increased occupational variety underscored the need for career guidance services. However, such career guidance was rapidly dichotomized in practice as educational guidance and vocational guidance.

As a result of these phenomena, schools emerged as the major institutional framework in which youth made their transition from childhood to adulthood. Schools, in turn, had the implied responsibility for providing both the guidance students needed for making such a transition and the training they needed to adequately perform adult roles.

This expectation of the schools to restore equal opportunity has underscored the actions taken in this country whenever there has been a

general economic crisis, such as the Depression, or whenever a specific group has been faced with major economic inequities, such as minority groups in the 1960's and women in the 1970's. The actions taken during such economic crises can be summarized as follows.

1. Increased funding of vocational education programs either across the board such as in the 1930's or with priority of services to a specific traget group, such as the disadvantaged in the 1960's.

2. A renewed emphasis on vocational guidance in the schools as opposed to educational guidance. This can be illustrated by the demands for improved vocational guidance offerings by secondary schools during the Depression in contrast to the support of educational guidance activities during the prosperity of the post war years.

3. The attachment of legislative requirements to federal spending programs in the schools to reduce educational inequities. A recent example concerns the educational programs offered women. In an attempt to equalize the educational offerings women receive, the federal government attaches standards to which schools must comply if they are to be eligible for federal spending.

Schools, then, are faced with the mandate that they ensure equal economic opportunities to our country's youth. The actions of the federal government, in turn, have supported this mandate.

The Career Education movement and the renewed attention to career guidance appears then to be a logical outgrowth of present phenomena. Both young people as a group as well as specific subgroups of youth have been faced with increasing difficulties in establisning themselves in a work role. These difficulties in turn have led to calls for educational reform, increased attention to career guidance, and an increased focus of government-sponsored programs on the career needs of youth. The federal government, correspondingly, has supported several research projects designed to provide models for a school-based program for the delivery of career guidance services. Several of these programs will be discussed in the next section.

PART V EXEMPLARY MODELS OF SCHOOL-BASED OCCUPATIONAL PLACEMENT PROGRAMS

Models of Placement Programs

There are few programs of occupational placement from which to draw generalizations of the components of placement services and functions. While educational placement has been promoted and supported by teachers, guidance personnel and school systems, occupational placement often has not been established as a formal service to students (Herr & Cramer, 1972). An extensive literature search by Wagner and Wood (1974) concludes "There are few exemplary programs from which to model program procedures" (p. 6).

During the summer and fall of 1974, a request was made by the Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education research staff to each State Board of Education nationwide for information on outstanding or innovative placement programs within the state. Several states had information concerning existing or trial placement programs, and either sent program descriptions or gave reference for direct correspondence. Many states, however, did not respond to the request or reported that no placement programs existed.

Number of States Reporting Placement Programs	18
Number of States Reporting NO Placement Programs	6
Number of States Unaware of Placement Programs	5
Total Number of States Responding to the Request	29

The materials, program descriptions, and operational manuals acquired through the search did not show extensive innovation or outstanding features. Many descriptions listed pilot projects established as one, two or three year programs. A few programs have existed for many years, and these few were frequently described as model placement programs by the developing placement agencies.

From the materials and manuals received, and from searching publications and presentations, the most pervasive feature of occupational placement became obvious--the effect of local conditions and decisions on program design. Innovation in placement services has generally been a change of local adaptations to the older existing models. Smaller schools make cuts in staff positions, up-to-date schools use computers, and local politics and educational philosophies determine the "location" of job placement services--within the guidance and counseling programs or as an autonomous entity.

Several fundamental components of occupational placement are used by most placement services. Gray (1974) at Mt. Ararat School lists five segments of job placement: (1) needs assessment, (2) job development, (3) student development, (4) placement, and (5) follow-up (p. 33). These segments, described below, are the basic design of most placement programs.

Needs assessment is the operational decisions made by schools: who to serve (only seniors?) and what services should be provided. Job development, which varies greatly among programs, is the recruitment of community

business and industry support and promotion of job opportunities for students. Student development is the most complex and important segment of placement. It may incorporate the regular school curricula and often includes special classes, seminars, and conferences to prepare students for entry into employment. This preparation ranges widely in programs from skill development to job-seeking and job-keeping training. Placement, or as it is often called, job matching, is the culminating activity of placement. Some placement services promote only full-time employment positions. However, most schools try to offer placement opportunities for students seeking part-time employment and work experience or volunteer positions. Follow-up is a "feedback" or evaluative part of placement activity. It serves as an accountability feature. The success and failures noted in follow-up offer stimuli for program alternatives and curricula changes.

Buckingham (1972) has stated that "the placement service must be more than a simple referral of students to jobs" (p. 63). No one agrees, however, on what else it should be. In their report "Placement and Follow-Up Literature Search," Wagner and Wood (1974) listed fourteen generalizations conceptualizing various components that a placement service might include.

1. The goals/objectives of a placement and follow-up program should be established to meet the needs of all students.

2. Placement and follow-up services should be provided throughout the entire year.

3. Placement and follow-up programs should facilitate the transition of students from the school environment to the world of work.

4. Placement and follow-up services should be established in such a way as to extend the current placement and follow-up efforts.

5. Placement and follow-up services should increase career opportunities through job development and facilitating access to further career training.

6. A program of placement and follow-up services should build upon rather than duplicate non-school placement and follow-up activities.

7. Placement and follow-up services should be school-based with central coordination.

8. A centralized placement and follow-up office should serve as a clearinghouse for job information for the entire school district.

9. Staff should be assigned full-time responsibility for providing placement and follow-up services.

10. Placement and follow-up services should be provided through the school board budget and without cost to the persons directly served.

11. Placement and follow-up activities should be organized into a formalized system.

12. There are few exemplary programs from which to model program procedures.

13. Placement activities and follow-up activities should be interrelated and mutually supportive.

14. Follow-up activities should provide feedback for evaluating educational programs and services. (pp. 5-6)

Similar conceptualizations of a placement service are in nine objectives suggested by the State Department of Education in New Jersey.

- To strengthen school guidance and counseling through a more sequential program of placement and vocational counseling which is appropriate for all students.
- To develop student career knowledge that may be helpful in making vocational program choices while still in high school and/or graduation.
- To fill curriculum gaps experienced particularly by those students who are not goal-oriented as well as goal-oriented students who may need or seek further help so that they may attain a higher degree of self-realization.
- To motivate students to attain their full potential by providing a climate for developing and testing attitudes, values, abilities, interests and aspirations.
- To expand career information and opportunities for all students.
- To develop employment prospects for the physically, emotionally and mentally handicapped students so that their school experiences are more in tune with their individual needs.
- To improve lines of communication among counselors, teachers, and vocational and work-study program coordinators.
- To improve public relations and expand coordination with business and community.
- To provide job experiences as an integral phase of the curriculum to help students enjoy greater educational relevancy.

(Kaskow, 1972, p. 2)

Several abstracts of placement programs and placement models are described to provide differences of style and operational procedures for comparisons. The programs will differ in services provided, staffing, operational procedures, and by persons served. Information on each will vary because of different sources used to compile the descriptions. Comparisons may be difficult sometimes because of the nature of the programs themselves.

Atlanta Public Schools Model

Program description. A district plan for secondary school placement programs that provides job matching services toward employment; provides transition from school to work through student development, including work experience, pre-employment and remedial instruction, group and individual guidance; promotes job development through surveying community busiresses and maintaining credibility of program through communication between staff, students and employers; provides follow-up and "follow-through" services that will extend services to students after they leave high school.

Operational design:

-- A district-wide job placement advisory committee

-- One designated school job placement director, who may be within the guidance department (local option)

-- Emphasis on vocational education, especially through vocational coordinators who have a relationship with local businesses and industry

-- Utilizes a central (district) record system of information about (1) students who want jobs and (2) employers who have jobs

Population served. Students in and out of school, ages 14-21

(McCarty, n.d.)

Mt. Ararat School, Maine

Program description. Two models are optional, (1) a guidance-based model as part of on-going guidance department function, and (2) a team of interested faculty members. Both would assume no additional personnel, extend existing systems within the school, reflect the needs of rural youth, and be "comprehensive" by "preparing students to be successful employees and to wage a successful job-seeking campaign." Five Segment Program includes: (1) needs assessment, (2) job development, (3) student development, (4) placement, and (5) follow-up.

Operational design:

-- One counselor identified as a placement coordinator who is responsible for job development

-- Other guidance members share responsibility for needs assessment and student development

-- Smaller schools would utilize a team of staff and volunteer members--parents, businessmen, and other laymen

-- One day job-seeking/job-keeping seminar is available in addition to regular guidance services

-- Some classroom activities are being developed

Population served. Primarily seniors (except that guidance staff is available to all students)

(Gray, 1974)

Cleveland Public Schools

Program description. To increase employment opportunities and school motivation and achievement of non-collegebound seniors. Counseling, occupational information and placement services are provided to increase the student's knowledge of occupations, working conditions and employer expectations. Remedial and supplementary education, industrial field trips, group sessions are also a part of the job preparation program.

Operational design:

-- One Project Manager who assists Job Development Counselors in each of five Cleveland high schools

-- Job Development Counselors organize and implement the Job Development Service in each school

Population served: Approximately 1,000 non-collegebound seniors in five Title I Cleveland schools identified as seeking full-time employment upon graduation.

(Gayman, 1974)

Duval County School Board, Florida

Program description. Chapter 230,67 of the Laws of Florida legislated that placement services would be provided to all Florida students both toward jobs and further education, and to assist youth leaving school for other reasons. The unique feature of the Florida legislation is that placement services will assist former students up to one year after graduation or leaving school. Assistance will be given toward part-time job opportunities and assistance in career decision making. Follow-up, as a separate activity, will evaluate the program and the students in order to improve the system and provide information on early school leavers.

Operational design:

-- A formalized system through a centralized staff (Supervisor, Coordinator) for acquisition and dissemination of job information within the entire district

-- A Placement Coordinating Team (a Guidance Counselor and Occupational Placement Specialist) for each senior high school

-- Build upon existing placement and follow-up programs

-- Contract with Florida Division of Employment Security for use of job bank resources; micro-fiche readers are provided for each school

Population served. All students are assisted: (1) in obtaining jobs; (2) in seeking further education; (3) toward dropout alternatives; (4) as former students and alumni; (5) for employment to remain in school; (6) in making career decisions.

(Wagner & Wood, 1974)

Akron-Summit County Placement Department, Ohio

Program description. Schools have an opportunity--and responsibility--to offset the high rate of youth unemployment by providing relevant, meaningful service to its students. Work orientation, job preparation and supportive services are offered to assist the student obtain initial employment. The service should be available to all students, including graduates and early school leavers. The Placement Department assumes major responsibility for initial placement, but works cooperatively with the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services and other agencies whenever students need to be referred to them. Job placement and follow-up are integrated within the school guidance department.

Operational design:

-- Placement Director has centralized coordination of the Placement Specialists in each high school

-- Placement is school-based with referrals made to outside agencies as needed

-- Placement involves job-matching, with pre-employment preparation as a separate model component

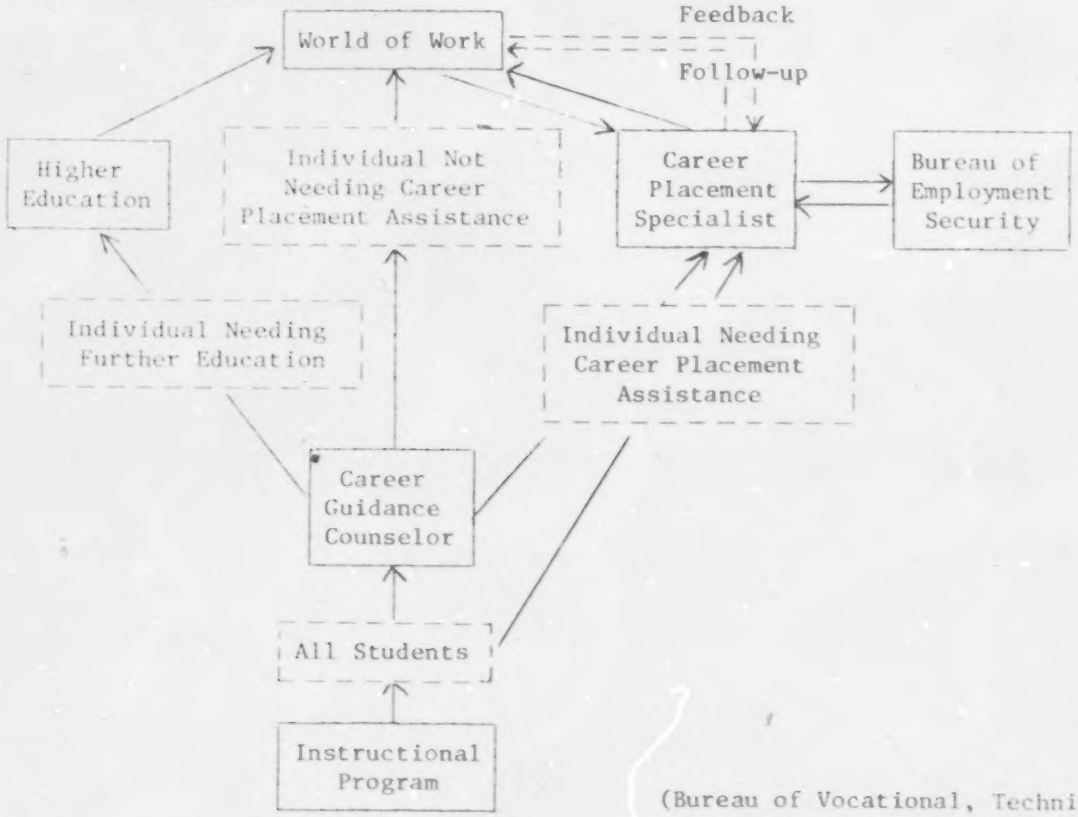
Population served. Originally, as a placement project, educationally disadvantaged students in the eleventh and twelfth grades, and dropouts. The model has applicability to other placement designs, for all youth commensurate with their interests, aptitude and ability.

(Wasil, n.d. a,b,c)

Pennsylvania Department of Education

Program description. In order to serve students entering the world of work as adequately as students are able to now enter higher education, this school-based model incorporates the overall educational program, identifies job openings cooperatively with the Pennsylvania Bureau of Employment Security, utilizes job-matching (Parson's theory based), and includes follow-up to improve the system. Differentiated guidance staff serve as career placement specialists. Model uses computers for student career planning and job matching.

Operational design:



(Bureau of Vocational, Technical and Continuing Education Research Coordinating Unit, 1[illegible], p. 14)

Population served. All students, graduates and early school leavers.

Baltimore Public Schools

Program description. As an outgrowth of school guidance and counseling programs more than forty years ago, the Baltimore Public Schools Placement Service is more than a referral of students to job opportunities. There is a broad cooperation and coordination with teachers, counselors, placement personnel and community employers and agencies. For example, the Placement Service and the Baltimore Social Service Department work together to help identify and provide assistance to economically disadvantaged students. In addition to the multitude of services provided to assist a student's transition to the world of work, an extensive follow-up function evaluates the lasting effects of the placement on the student and the employer.

Operational design:

-- Free, year-round placement service with centralized coordination

-- Job counselors have multi-school responsibilities, within each school's guidance department

-- Provides services relating to full-time, part-time, and temporary and summer jobs

-- Dropouts are provided equal services as the enrolled students

Population served. Emphasis on graduating seniors and dropouts. Services are extended to city high schools, vocational-technical high schools, vocational schools, and special education centers.

(Buckingham, 1972, pp. 63-64)

Review of occupational or job placement programs and models existing suggests the following components as the most significant for a comprehensive placement system:

1. Placement services should be school-based, and should be made available to all students regardless of their different needs, goals, abilities or handicaps.

2. Placement activities and services should not be a terminating activity for students graduating or leaving school. Placement services should be provided throughout the year and possibly to several grade levels and former students.

3. Occupational placement should have an organized, formal program with at least a core of full-time staff. Additional support staff (parents, volunteer students, teachers) may be an option.

4. Placement services should be extended from and/or coordinated with existing placement, guidance and instructional services, and with personnel in and out of the school.

5. Placement services should be funded through school board budgets and offered at no cost to the students being served.

6. Placement activities should include aspects of student development or preparation that will assist the student to improve his or her employability potential. Such assistance might include: work experiences, internships, voluntary work, or pre-employment clinics.

7. Placement activity should include assessment of occupational opportunities within the community, and promote job development through effective communication and cooperation with community employers and businesses. This will facilitate the entry of students into the labor market.

8. Placement activity should include follow-up services to give feedback and evaluative information of its effectiveness. This may be coordinated with existing follow-up services in order to promote the improvement of educational curricula, guidance and placement services.

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CENTER FOR STUDIES IN VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

The Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education at the University of Wisconsin-Madison was reorganized with the support of the Wisconsin Board of Vocational, Technical and Adult Education within the School of Education in 1971. The function of the Center is to serve the State of Wisconsin in a unique way by bringing the resources of the University to bear on identified problems in the delivery of vocational and manpower programs—vocational education, technical education, adult education, career education, manpower training—to citizens of all ages in all communities of the State. The Center focuses upon the delivery of services including analyses of need, target groups served, institutional organization, instructional and curriculum methodology and content, labor market needs, manpower policy, and other appropriate factors. To the extent that these goals are enhanced and the foci of problems widened to encompass regional and national concerns, the Center engages in studies beyond the boundaries of the State.

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